

Arboreal Eloquence: Trees and Commemoration

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Abstract

This thesis is about the use of trees for commemoration and the memory that they have anchored in the landscape. There has been little written on the use of trees for commemorative purposes despite its symbolic resonance over the last 150 years. To determine the extent to which commemorative trees have been employed, the social practice and context in which the trees were planted, field and archival work was undertaken in New Zealand and Australia. This has been supported with some comparative work using examples from Britain and the United States of America. The research also utilizes the new availabilities of records on-line and the community interests that placed historical and contemporary material on-line.

The commemorative tree has been a popular commemorative marker for royal events, the marking of place and as memorial for war dead. It has been as effective an anchor of memory in the landscape as any other form. The memory ascribed to these trees must be understood in terms of the era in which the tree was planted and not just from a distance. Over time the memory represented by the trees and its prescribed meanings, has changed. For all its power and fragility, memory is not permanent but nor is it so ephemeral as to exhibit no robustness at all. Instead memory exists in a state of instability that leaves it open to challenge and to constant reassessment based on the needs of the viewing generation. This instability also allows the memory, and thus the tree, to fade and become part of the domestic landscape of treescape memories (Cloke and Pawson, 2008). However, in some circumstances trees are retrieved and reinscribed with specific memory and made relevant for a new generation. The landscape created by commemorative trees is, therefore, multifunctional, in which social relations support memory, remembrance, forgetting, silences, erasures, and memory slippage.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“**T**he Trees.
When we plant here let us think that we plant forever, let it not be for present delight nor for present use alone. Let it be such work as our descendents will thank us for and let us think that a time is to come when these trees will be held sacred because our hands have planted them and that men will say as they look upon the wonder and substance of them “See! this our fathers did for us.”” Adapted from John Ruskin Cornwall Park Trustees 1935 (Cornwall Park, Auckland, New Zealand).

Memorials and monuments of stone and bronze dominate the literature of commemoration and the commemorative landscape, whilst the use of trees for these purposes lies very much at the periphery of academic scholarship. The limited writing available suggests that the use of commemorative trees has been extensive, although more popular at certain times than at others. Memorial trees represent a prolific form of commemoration, as ubiquitous as any other private and civic form in the landscape. Yet little attention has been paid to their contribution to memory and to the unique properties that trees bring to Western commemorative practices.

The expression of memory is a cultural battlefield. The writing of history by the victors, the colonisation of other cultures and the silencing of alternative memories has left a contestable landscape, in which strata of memory are unevenly deposited one on top of another, intersecting with other layers of memory. Only occasionally do the underlayers break through. As such the memorial landscape is at one and the same time a landscape of power, a landscape of forgetting and a landscape of silences. At particular times these landscapes become sites of contestation where power and dominance are challenged, as in the attacks on an iconic lone pine tree on One Tree

Hill/Maungakiekie, in central Auckland. This once important pre-European Maori site was sold, and then planted with exotic pine trees of which one mature lone tree remained from the 1960s onward. This symbol of Auckland's colonial past/present became one of a number of focal points of Māori resistance contesting asymmetric race relations, suppressed indigenous rights and government policy, during the 1990s. In protest the tree was attacked twice with chainsaws, the second of which effectively killed it. The tree was finally removed in October 2000. These attacks gave attention to the politics of the Māori protest but also to the debates over which potential replacement tree was sufficiently iconic and spoke of shared ideas of nation and identity (Kearns and Collins, 2000). A grove of pohutukawa and totara trees was finally selected (www.aucklandcity.govt.nz) but has yet to be planted (C. Smith, pers. com.). As can be seen from this example those who have control of the landscape, also control meaning and representation.

Dominant cultures who express their memory through memorials and monuments present sanitised representations of the past which portray themselves in a particular light. These representations only communicate partial narratives of the past, ones framed within narrow contexts. The narratives strive to articulate only positive aspects of a person or event commemorated. This is analogous to Sennett's (1970) concept of the production of a purified identity. Contradictions and negative aspects of life, such as difference, conflict, and fear, are denied and purged from the representation. This purification creates "clear and unambiguous" positive images of self (Sennett, 1970:9). However, these images generally have a limited basis in reality. War memorials offer a pertinent example. They represent the positive ideals of war through the purified messages of duty, sacrifice, honour and glory. When set against the dissonances or unspoken realities of war, the pain, suffering, deprivation and destruction, the image of a romanticized painless death produced by the ideal is destroyed. Official interpretations of memorials and monuments constructed within the purified ideal of partial truths have become the focus of contestation over whose memory should represent the past. Similar parallels can be found with imperial monuments. Commemorative trees are not immune from this purification because, as with other forms of memorial, they have been used to convey particular memories or interpretations of the past.

The memories conveyed and our interpretations of them are not static or inert. Although memorials and monuments outwardly anchor memories in time and space, the memorial landscape is not fixed. Memory and meaning continues to be reworked (Bender, 1993). Dwyer (2004:425) argues that memorials and monuments can themselves be seen as dynamic sites of meaning production and reproduction. In this way they have ongoing potential, allowing “monuments to be conceived as in the process of becoming”, continuing to evolve through the changing intersections of social relations. These changes generally occur over long timeframes. Commemorative trees as living memorials exemplify another variation of the process of becoming in an organic sense. Unlike stone and bronze, trees are not physically static. They are living organisms which traverse through yearly cycles of leaf production and loss, and the life cycle of growth into maturity, procreation and aging. Physically, trees change every aspect of their appearance over the course of their existence. They interact with and adapt to their environment and become in the sense of producing that environment: they are agents of its creation (Jones and Cloke, 2002). The fulfilment of a tree’s cycle of life is death, the end of one of the processes of becoming. From this point some have trajectories of being beyond death: through their offspring, particularly heritage trees, and through the use of their wood as objects of use and adornment. Trees, then, bring a different range of symbols and meanings not necessarily available to more conventional forms of memorialisation.

Trees have been used for centuries to symbolise abstract social ideas, physically expressing them in material form (Rival, 1998). They have accrued a rich, diverse heritage of symbolic associations. Rival (1998:1) contends that trees “provide some of the most visible and potent symbols of social process and collective identity”, while Chevalier and Gheerbant (1996:1026) have suggested that trees represent “one of the richest and widespread symbolic motives”. The use of trees for Western memory work has its roots in antiquity. Through the journeys of Pausanias in second century Greece, it is known that trees were used to commemorate auspicious occasions and people of the past of local significance (Birge, 1994). Wycherley (1994:120) refers to the metaphorical representation of “power and military might” through avenues of trees in Imperial Persia and Rome, while Haddow (1998a:423) makes reference to the Romans’ pioneering of the “concept of commemorative planting along roadsides”. Trees have also been an integral component in various

cosmologies, religions and religious rituals (MacCulloch, 1948; Davidson, 1964; Green, 1992; Leeming and Leeming, 1994; Charalampidis, 1995). The spread of Christianity supplanted the living trees of polytheistic religions with abstract symbolic and metaphoric Christian trees - the tree of life, the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the cross of Christ (Davidson, 1964; Charalampidis, 1995; Cusack, 1998; Ferber, 1999) - turning living trees from the sacred to the secular. It was not until the nineteenth century that the tree once again became well represented in popular and civic commemorations.

The suitability of the tree as a commemorative form re-emerged as a parallel development to the rise of the garden as a sign of status, prestige and wealth. The cultural and social values of trees increased as their importance as essential elements in the conspicuous display of wealth in the garden grew. For the landed gentry of the eighteenth century trees helped strengthen their “sense of identity and self-esteem” (Thomas, 1987:240). Daniels (1988:48) observed how trees symbolically amplified individual family ‘pedigree’ and conveyed real, imagined or inferred attributes of strength, longevity and intergenerational continuity. Therefore the judicious use of trees helped depict gentry and aristocracy perceptions of the social order of society or how it “ought to have been” (Daniels, 1988:43). At the same time these symbols of power and wealth became the sites of contestation. Land enclosures attracted subversive arboreal and other protest actions by disaffected people until the nineteenth century. Early rural protests and tree maiming contributed to the legislative protection of private property, including trees (Griffin, 2008). In response to “injuries and violences” to persons and their properties the Black Act 1722 was enacted. Penalties were harsh. Any persons found guilty of “unlawfully and maliciously ... cut[ting] down or otherwise destroy any trees planted in any avenue, or growing in any garden, orchard or plantation, for ornament, shelter or profit” were to be sentenced to death “without benefit of clergy” (British Government, 1765: 88, 89). Further legislation in 1766 outlawed the public collection of firewood from private woodland areas (Daniels, 1988). By the mid nineteenth century the Victorians had successfully incorporated the tree as a sign of status and privilege, with local and national concepts of commemoration used for a wide range of occasions. The commemorative tree was at its most popular in celebrating Royal events.

Nineteenth century British tree symbolism drew from a wide range of classical, religious and literary references and understandings. (A thorough examination of tree symbolism can be found in dictionaries and encyclopaedias of traditional symbols. See Cooper, 1978; Cirlot, 1982; Chevalier and Gheerbrant, 1996; Tresidder, 1998; Ferber, 1999.) A number of trees have retained their associations. The yew and the weeping willow are still associated with funerary landscapes. The most complex and enduring symbolism has been the oak. As early as the sixteenth century the oak was a symbol of strength (Thomas, 1987), ultimately to be described as “venerable, patriarchal, stately, guardian and quintessentially English” (Daniels, 1988:48). At the national level the oak was the supreme emblem and national symbol of Great Britain as a country and Great Britain as a people. The tree embodied characteristics of “masculinity, vigour, strength and reliability” (Thomas, 1987:220). The oak has retained its honoured place throughout the last five hundred years. Its cultural capital is evident in the transference and enduring legacy seen in Britain’s former colonies as both landscape and commemorative trees.

There has been a sharp decline in the use and knowledge of traditional British tree symbolism during the twentieth century. Haddow (1988b) argues that in Australia by 1918 it was difficult to determine the level to which communities were drawing on traditional symbolism of trees and their understanding of it. Trees appeared to have become a blank canvas upon which memory and meaning could be ascribed. In Australia, new tree species, such as the native wattle and eucalyptus, were incorporated into the growing lexicon of local and national meanings (Robin, 2002; Richards, 2003), adding value to native species and “nationalising” nature (Robin, 2002). Ceremonial speeches and rhetoric became the platform for the articulation and education of the intended symbolism and significance. Speechmakers ascribed symbolic meaning, either by looking back to traditional symbols or by assigning new ones, and in doing so shaped and controlled meaning (Shand, 1994). As a result the symbolic meaning of commemorative trees cannot be taken for granted nor determined through academic theorizing, it can only be understood through the study of rhetoric and statements at the time of planting.

Commemorative trees have been deployed for a diverse range of purposes. They have helped to humanize place by anchoring local and international memory to the

landscape. On important civic occasions, such as the celebrating of royal events, trees have been planted with pomp and ritual and at the time of planting were in the foreground of public commemoration and memory making. However, how a community understands itself and what is important to it is not static. It changes over time as each new generation defines what is important to it (Schama, 1995). The importance of the memory and associations represented by trees planted by previous generations fades from collective consciousness. These trees slip from the forefront of community memory into the background. With their mnemonic function compromised and no longer acknowledged or understood, the trees blend into the aesthetic landscape. For Cloke and Pawson (2008) this background landscape offers a new treescape of memories. As part of the treescape the hollowed out markers accrue alternative meanings and associations in relation to the continually evolving landscape of the tree and its environment, in addition to remaining a pointer to past times and events. This can be viewed as part of the continuum along Dwyer's (2004) path to becoming.

Tree Memorialisation

Tree memorialisation has been popular in the landscapes of recent Anglo-European settlement. Walk through almost any park and there will be a tree of special significance, be it of local, regional or national importance or representing an overseas connection. Yet few people would necessarily 'see' them. The Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking recently at the dedication service of the Armed Forces Memorial at the National Memorial Arboretum in Britain, said that "[h]uman beings are specialists in not seeing things. Most of the time, we screen out a vast amount of our world, a vast amount of what comes to us through our senses, especially through our eyes" (12/10/2007, www.archbishopofcanterbury.org). It is easy then to understand how commemorative trees become naturalised into the domestic landscape of every day life.

The relative invisibility of these trees in the landscape to many people is paralleled in the literature through a lack of representation. In Australia and New Zealand literature on tree memorialisation is limited. Literature on specific trees has focussed on historic associations or their iconic nature, rather than those planted for particular purposes. Lavelle (2003), for example, has written on the Explorers' Tree associated

with the successful crossing of the Blue Mountains in Australia in 1813, and discusses how past and place have been constructed around an old decaying tree whose authenticity has been questioned. In New Zealand, Kearns & Collins (2000) focussed on the construction of place, nation and identity around the Auckland icon of the pine tree on One Tree Hill /Maungakiekei. Wilcox and Spencer (2007) discuss commemorative use in their search for true representatives of the Anzac Lone Pine of Gallipoli as defined by species. The trees which dominate this limited literature are memorial avenues planted as First World War memorials commemorating the service and sacrifice of local men and women. This literature is predominantly Australian in origin, where authors have mainly focussed on avenues of honour in Western Australia and Victoria (Haddow, 1987, 1988a, 1988b; Wycherley, 1994; Dargavel, 1999, 2000; Richards, 2003; Stephens, 2008). In New Zealand First World War memorial avenues are far less common. McLean and Phillips (1990), Ross (1994) and Pawson (2004) have all written on the North Otago memorial oaks. From this literature there is no overall sense of the range of uses and examples.

The purpose of this thesis is to fill this gap in the literature. Accordingly, this research is based on field and archival work undertaken in New Zealand and Australia. Field research required engaging with landscapes of memory, both physical and archival. Information was gained from dedicated archives, libraries, museums, art galleries, and from informal conversations throughout this journey. This has been supported with some comparative work using examples from Britain and the United States of America. The research also utilizes the new availabilities of records on-line and the community interests that placed historical and contemporary material on-line. On-line resources provided opportunities to network and make links and correspondence with overseas archives, libraries and royal houses in search of information.

Research Questions

The aim of this present study is:

To determine the significance of trees as memorials in the landscapes of countries of relatively recent European settlement.

In doing so the following questions will be addressed throughout the course of this thesis:

- What is the range of commemorative purposes for which trees have been used?
- What are the relationships between memory, commemoration and landscape, specifically in the context of memorial trees?
- What role do commemorative trees play in social history and community building in specific places and nationally?
- To what extent have memorial tree practices been shared between places or to what extent are they particular to place?
- How are tree memories re-made over time: do they persist or drain away?

Thesis outline

The first thesis question is explored in chapters 2 to 4. Chapter 2, Memory, discusses the nature of memory and its inherent instability within which all knowledge and representations of the past are framed. The processes of remembering and forgetting are both natural and political. As representations of the past, memorials and monuments, including commemorative trees, have inherited the vagaries of memory; as such these are themselves, unstable. Once unveiled, there is no control over meaning and interpretation. Official rhetoric which frames intended meanings is but one layer of meaning. This official meaning is contested or undermined by individual interpretation based on personal knowledge and experience.

Chapter 3, Landscapes of Memory, gives a brief summary of the development of landscape from its pictorial roots in the fifteenth century to its post-cultural turn conceptualisation. This is followed by the description of four different approaches to landscape interpretation which informs this study. This is followed by Chapter 4, Charting Memories, which defines ‘memorial landscape’ and ‘commemorative tree’

in the context of this study. Field sites are described and the rationale for their inclusion given. The remainder of the chapter is given over to describing the methods and resources used to identify, locate commemorative trees and the social practice and context of their planting trees and uncover selected narratives.

The middle four chapters are the empirical heart of the thesis. They explore thesis questions two to five and look respectively at the themes of empire and identity; marking place; war and naming the dead; and finally, the paradox of official memory and war experience in the construction and understanding of war and the war dead. Chapter 5, *Landscapes of Empire and Identity*, examines the role planting trees for royal events and visits in the representation of empire and identity at the colonial edge. Royal tours and celebrations were relatively rare historic events in the history of British settler colonies. The planting of commemorative trees, particularly oaks, articulated meaning on two levels, one of empire and power through symbolic associations and the second of identity and popular sentiment, both expressed through the tree-planting ceremony. This rhetoric has changed over time and the meaning of the trees has faded. However, tree-planting remains a component of royal tours while the practice of planting for royal events, once widespread, survives as a more limited form.

The *Ma(r)king of Place* is the theme of chapter 6. Trees have been popular choices in expressing the myriad of memories from diverse groups and individuals in different places. These plantings have highlighted the uniqueness or specificity of place and actively contributed to community building and the production of local history. The marking of place has been a predominantly twentieth century phenomenon, promoted in New Zealand through the introduction of Arbor Day and positive benefits of local tree planting. The marking of place has been less about conveying ideas embodied in traditional tree symbolism than marking the milestones and memories that constitute the vernacular landscape. At the same time the memory represented by the trees has been somewhat ephemeral in nature, fading with relative ease as the trees became part of the treescape of place, acquiring new associations against a backdrop of everyday activity.

Chapter 7, Landscapes of Sorrow, follows the changes and developments in military, social and memorial practices which facilitated the development of a memorial landscape through the deployment of memorial avenues and their variants as First World War memorials. It is argued that without the movement towards and adoption of the naming of the war dead, memorial avenues, which acknowledged individualised duty and sacrifice, would not have developed. Analysis of the various choices made by committees in the decision making processes associated with memorial avenues further reinforced naming and individualisation.

Chapter 8, Competing Memories: official and personal, examines the construction of memory of war, death and loss during and after the First World War through the memorial avenues. Official rhetoric, articulated through speeches at planting and dedication ceremonies, informed audiences and the broader community how those who served and died were to be remembered and how war was to be understood. Symbolic meanings of the trees were drawn upon to reinforce this rhetoric but seldom drew on traditional symbolic understandings. Yet, official memory was undermined by personal experience and memories of the war. Different and opposing experiences and memories were had by various groups, especially between those on the home front and those on the military front. The choice of trees as war memorials is challenged in light of soldiers' war experience of trees.

Finally, chapter 9 brings the above themes together to revisit the research questions and give a brief summary of findings. Emphasised is the persistence of memory and tree commemoration through the retrieval of trees from the treescape of memories and their reinscription with memory and relevancy and new plantings in the twenty-first century. The chapter ends with suggestions of further research.

Chapter 2

Memory

“Any recalling or recording of the past involves selection, both deliberate and unintended. Choosing what to remember must entail also the choice of what to forget, what to pass over in silence, and what to obscure” (Flower, 2006:1).

“... we must remember in order to know who we are, and forget in order to become what we may be.” (Bishai, 2000:7)

Introduction

Memory is at the core of all representations of the past. Yet, memory in its many forms is unstable and malleable. Despite this memorials and monuments, including thousands of commemorative trees, are ubiquitous in landscapes of developed countries. They act as agents conveying memory of the past to present and future generations and anchor notions of power, hegemony, ideology and identity in the landscape. Charged with such an important, almost impossible, task, memorials and monuments have had variable success. This variability in success demonstrates the unstable nature of memory, exposing its power and weakness, and the problematic approach of presenting memory as monolithic and as a single authoritative interpretation of the past. As a result memory and memorials and monuments have been contested. This has been an age old feature.

Contests over memory and its resilience are not new. Oblivion was a major fear of the aristocracy, especially the political elite, of ancient Rome. The loss to future generations of the personal memory, deeds, power, wealth and status, would condemn the elite to the same fate as the nameless, faceless, masses that existed socially below

them. Without the knowledge and proof of existence and identity the aristocracy became part of the anonymous void beyond the extent of living memory. Evasion of the void was expensive. Much time, energy and money was expended on a range of visual, textual and monumental commemorative artefacts to facilitate the perpetuation of an aristocrat's memory. A similar amount of effort was expended by those in positions of power in the modification or erasure of the memory of others, whether they were rival, associate, colleague or family (Flower, 2006). My own experiences and views of memory work differ from the Roman concern with oblivion. Personal fears include the loss of photographs and negatives through fire or burglary, particularly since experiences of family deaths have highlighted personal memory responses to loss. For me my photographs are an important mnemonic trigger or link to much of the detail of my life. The loss of this link would be tragic for me but my identity would not be diminished. Conversely, a person fighting their own personal battles with the void through illness, such as dementia or Alzheimer's, risks the obliteration of their memory, the person they are, thus their identity, exemplifying at once both the power and fragility of memory. These examples tell that memory is complex, multifaceted and tightly bound with the past, around which narratives of belonging and identity are constructed.

To appreciate the role of commemorative trees in the transmission of memory it is necessary to understand the construction of memory and, in turn, the role memory plays in the representation of the past through memorials and monuments. To facilitate such an understanding, theories of memory, emphasising its collective nature and the processes of remembering, forgetting and silences are presented. A general discussion then follows on commemoration in which the theories of memory are applied to provide a necessary overview of the conceptual context in which commemorative trees can be interpreted. This discussion illustrates the intimate relationship between memory and commemoration: memorials and monuments have inherited all aspects of the instability of memory and in turn convey similar processes of remembering, forgetting and silences to new generations. It also illustrates the contested nature of memory and challenges posed to traditional forms of memorialisation.

Memory

Memory, as described by Benjamin (1986) (in Misztal, 2003), is essentially a conversation with the past. Since memory is not a singular entity but manifold, there are multiple conversations with the past. These conversations or narratives are then at the core of all memory work. Whilst these conversations are simultaneously generated, experienced, recalled and recorded on a range of scales, memory is inherently problematic. The plurality and instability of memory leaves it “provisional, subjective, concerned with representation and the present rather than fact and the past” (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:2). At the same time its malleability allows memory to be manipulated in various conventional and variable ways and open to contestation. The academic study of memory has become increasingly popular (Kidd and Murdoch, 2004), though some (Confino, 1997) question the usefulness of the term. Although the theoretical concept of memory linking “representation and social experience” has been criticized (Confino, 1997:1402), memory remains a significant and communicable concept (Middleton and Edwards, 1990a). At the same time it is socially imperative for the maintenance of identity (Gillis, 1994).

Remembering

At the level of the individual person, memory is one of the functions of the brain, whereby, through neurological processes, information is assessed, filtered, ordered and stored. While these processes are intimate to the individual, the action of remembering is not done in isolation but in relation to socially constructed and supported frameworks of shared understandings (Middleton & Edwards, 1990a). Remembering is interactive, as memory is renegotiated through an environment of social contact and person to person conversation (Thelen, 1989; Middleton & Edwards, 1990b; Prager, 1998). This social activity reinforces and/or modifies individual memory: “talking together about the past” (Radley, 1990:23) allows for the reassessing of memory, the addition of detail and the foregrounding of memories not previously triggered by association (Middleton & Edwards, 1990a; Radley 1990). It is the shared nature of commonly held memories that links individuals to a group and it is through the group’s social frameworks of understanding that individuals recollect memories (Kenny, 1999; Johnston, 2004). As with the Roman elite, individual and shared memories can be modified and manipulated within the very processes (ie social activity and frameworks of understanding) that link them. Notwithstanding

possible individual influence, commonly held memories form the basis of the group's collective/social memory.

The social context of collective memory was articulated in the 1920s by Maurice Halbwachs. Halbwachs (1992) viewed collective memory as a social construct in which the past was not preserved but reconstructed as an image of the past, configured on the understandings of the present. The idea of a shared image of the past is one fraught with issues (Bender, 1993; Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003). The claims made may be found to be unacceptable to many, for example, the imposition of new collective memories by hegemonic power and ideological control of new regimes as demonstrated by the new French Republic and the Third Reich. Contesting of memory and the past challenges the shared image, its representation and also the entitlement to articulate that past in the present (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003). Even so it remains the centre of current conceptualisations of collective memory. Misztal (2003:7) links the past, present and future in defining collective memory as the "representation of the past, both shared by a group and that which is collectively commemorated, that enacts and gives substance to the group's identity, its present conditions and its visions of the future." As representation, collective memory thus incorporates more than the pooling of multiple single lifetimes of memory or single pasts. It also includes institutional continuity, through such institutions as monarchy, government and politics, which operate outside the framework of a single lifetime or generation. This amalgamation of historical knowledge and experience is part of collective memory (Misztal, 2003).

The smoothing effect of collective memory over detail, experience and other interpretations presents consensus and homogeneity through the production of a single dominant narrative, understood and accepted by the group. However, contestation over memory, meaning and interpretation challenges this single dominant narrative idea. Such confrontations lead to the voicing and positioning of alternative understandings and interpretations. These stand alongside dominant narratives, underlining the fundamental lack of consensus and homogeneity within collective memory. As a result collective memory can vary by gender, generation, ethnicity, class, interests, and motivations, creating and maintaining layers of memory not

commensurate with the collective memory (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003; Ugolini, 2004; Jordan, 2005).

Forgetting

In the construction of this “collective memory” remembering entails forgetting (Flower, 2006). Forgetting is a natural process of memory. Very little of what an individual experiences in a conscious state is remembered, with much being involuntarily forgotten soon after the experience (Lowenthal, 1999). Similarly, no collective group remembers all shared remembrances and experiences, concentrating on what is deemed important for identity and social cohesion (Lowenthal, 1999; Legg, 2007). Separation from collective groups or social frameworks can also facilitate forgetting (Kattago, 2000; Bender, 2001). For Curtis (2001), a writer and filmmaker, forgetting is a strategy whereby that which is forgotten is deemed excess and beyond the needs of the narrative, a strategy that implies a degree of deliberation in the process of inclusion and exclusion. Choices are made consciously or unconsciously in every collective memory. Excess information then becomes invisible background layers within the construction of various collective memories, unexposed within current interpretations.

Jordan (2005:61) suggests that

[a]cts of [remembering] are necessarily coupled with processes of forgetting, and any landscape of memory also exists with a shadow of forgetting. This pairing is not in itself an indictment of the acts of forgetting, but rather recognition of the necessarily selective and incomplete foundations of memory.

In imagining the “selective and incomplete foundations of memory” one could envisage collective memory as having a hierarchy of collectivities. An example of such a hierarchy could be family, workplace, city, region, nation, in which collective memory at each level of the hierarchy is built on broader shared remembrances and experiences than the previous level. At each level alternative narratives by minority groups become overwhelmed by and submerged within dominant narratives which are presented as the collective memory of that level. The dominant narratives themselves are composed of exclusions. These can include both unintentional forgetting and a more highly selective form, silence, which represents an enforced exclusion from the conversation and for which no alternative methods of expression are available.

Silences

Within any act of remembering and forgetting there are silences whose potency remains latent. Silence, then, is a conversation or part of a narrative waiting for its opportunity. It differs from forgetting (not remembering) by remembering but not speaking of the past (Cohen, 1999). While silence may be seen as intangible, Passerini (2003:249) describes it as being bounded, having “limits, contexts and reference”, framing characteristics similar to remembering and forgetting. Silence can be voluntarily self-imposed by those who hold the memories for the greater good of the community, allowing time for the creation of a new and better future. The memories can be too private, painful or dangerous to articulate or the time for listening has not come about. In the case of World War II, the experiences of some groups across Europe have yet to be fully articulated to a wider audience, for instance the Roma people or Gypsies (Passerini, 2003). Silence can also be imposed by those who hold power over others, including individuals, institutions, officials, and governments. For example, the East German government institutionalised silence of Jewish and minority deaths of the holocaust in favour of a more recent collective memory constructed around antifascist socialist and communist resistance narratives (Passerini, 2003; Jordan 2005). Whether silences are placed or imposed on public or private memories, Passerini (2003) argues that some form of complicity is necessary for the restrictions to succeed, prolonging the voicing of the silence. Silences, then, present the darker side of social memory, the unarticulated traumas of the past which impact on group identity and influence, but remain unstated within publicly expressed collective memory.

Commemoration: memorials and monuments in practice

As an aid to remembering, commemoration is a “*practice* of representations that enacts and gives social substance to the discourse of collective memory” (Shearman, 1994:168, emphasis original). It presents a distinctive mode of expressing, representing and supporting memory that has been diverse in nature and variable in success. Individuals, collectives and nations have turned to such media as trees, “sculpture, architecture, ceremonies and other forms of performance, and the written and spoken word”, to name a selection, to materialize and anchor memory in place (King, 1999:148). However, these attempts at preserving the meaning of memory and prolonging its existence in the present (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003) suffer from the

same problems and deficiencies inherent in that memory, that of “forgetting, suggestibility, censorship, hindsight, conflicting recollections, [and] the force of interests that frame whatever we remember” (Davis & Starn, 1989:4). The need for such devices reinforces Nora’s (1989) contention that memory of the past is no longer a part of everyday life and has been abandoned. Only through sites where memory has crystallized, what Nora has called *lieux de mémoires*, has the remains of the consciousness of memory survived and been maintained through “commemorative vigilance” (Nora, 1989:12). This commemorative vigilance can be found in memorials and monuments and their associated rituals and ceremonies. As unstable memory devices, they have become important anchors of individual and collective memory, around which identity, individual and collective, is partially constituted.

Since antiquity and the time of the ancient Romans, memorials and monuments have been raised by ruling elites, reinforcing particular hierarchies in collective memory. Their function was to remind the general population of great events and people in a manner which communicated to the present and the future a particular representation of the past. The form the memorial or monument took, including arboreal expressions, along with words, phrases and inscriptions, were used as a framework for instruction and remembrance. The idea that memory could be engraved onto the surface of stone or inscribed onto trees was used by the Greeks and Romans, evident from their victorious war memorials and statues commemorating deserving individuals (Flower, 2006). This assumption that material objects could act as repositories, physical representations or material substitutes for memory became popular again during the Renaissance. The use of memorials and monuments as memory devices reached its height of popularity during the nineteenth century which experienced an intensive period of commemorative practice and monument raising associated with the rise of nationalism and social change. This is often called ‘statuemanía’ (Wortman, 1996; Michalski, 1998; Forty, 1999). Sculptors employed stone and bronze, the imaginative use of allegory, realism and iconography, and traditional forms of memorials and monuments, in commemorating a person, an event, or abstract ideas. These representations became highly visible vehicles for the dictating and conveyance of messages and teaching of lessons on values, virtues and ideals deemed important to communities (Maclean & Phillips, 1990; Monk, 1992; Mothersill, 1996; Osborne, 1998; Legg, 2007). As symbolic signifiers they provided exemplars of desirable

behaviours and moral standards, as determined by the elite, for their intended audience, the lower classes.

Memorials and monuments are created within hegemonic and ideological frameworks with particular agendas. The act of raising a public memorial or monument emphasised social processes by “making power evident in the landscape” and mapping “history onto territory” (Whelan, 2003: 19, 15). Identity was created or reinforced and one dominant interpretation of events and societal values was inscribed and promoted (Gillis, 1994; Yea, 1999; Johnson, 2003; Whelan, 2003). Memorials and monuments have proved potent tools in the construction of a vision and articulation of national identities. Personal identity was linked with the nation state through national foundation myths that offered a sense of continuity and unity, while legitimising state power (Whelan, 2002). This is evident in the proliferation of statues of monarchs throughout the British Empire, from Queen Victoria to George VI, which exemplified the power and reach of the British Empire and could be found in almost every large urban centre within its boundaries (Cannadine, 2001). The face of imperial power, as a symbol of a ‘people’ or nation (Forest, Johnson, & Till, 2004), linked disparate populations and provided a sense of unity and belonging through membership over vast distances. It also provided a rallying point for both social and political support, and inevitably contestation (Whelan, 2003). The British Monarchy and its images were supported by a calendar of commemorative rituals, which allowed the general public personal participation in the maintenance of national identity (Kattago, 2001). The creation of images of “an official state narrative” and a shared history articulated around memorials endeavoured to cultivate a collective memory amongst a diverse and dispersed population (Osborne, 2001:51). Monuments to power, then, attempted to encapsulate a consciousness of a shared past and suggested a shared present and future (Cooke, 2000).

The assumed innocent, unbiased and consensual appearance of many memory sites belies the conflicts and compromises (Johnson, 2004) that creation in a political milieu of power relations, class and gender generates (Gillis, 1994). Greater conflict and hegemonic challenges ensue when a proposed memorial appears provocative, challenging ideology, official histories, landscapes of state, public discourses, and the right to erect memorials. This was evident in the negotiations for a Holocaust

memorial in London (Cooke, 2000), and the Vietnam War Memorial, Washington DC (Lewis, 2001). As Cooke (2000) found, the siting of memorials can be contentious, due to the privileging of sites predicated on cause and message. The erection of a memorial or monument transforms neutral public spaces into “ideologically charged sites” (Whelan, 2002:508) with implied political support through the allocation of public space (Johnson, 1995; Whelan, 2002). The processes of commemoration privilege one interpretation of the past, attempting to control the current and future perception and understanding of that past. At the same time these processes create contestable spaces through which temporal and spatial variations in memory and ideological understandings challenge privileged representations, revealing the tensions between remembering and forgetting (Forty, 1999).

Forgetting and silences

It is argued that memorials and monuments are markers for forgetting or displacing memory (Young, 1992; Zankowicz, 2005), thus they are sites where forgetting and silences converge. It is the silences or Curtis’s (2001) excesses within the narrative told by the memorials and monuments that are seen to actively promote forgetting. Space constraints restrict what can be represented by a monument’s message, through inscription, symbolism, form and location, permitting only certain dominant elements or a portion of the whole narrative to be told. As a consequence, that which is not represented is excluded, thus permitting, encouraging, enforcing or reinforcing forgetting and silences within narratives and interpretations (Forty, 1999). Cooke (2000) noted that in the construction of London’s Hyde Park Holocaust memorial the Jewish community found it necessary to suppress the dominance of their memory and include others in order to attain a memorial, compromising what the Jewish community viewed as primarily a Jewish experience. The memorial’s resulting level of ambiguity was important in encouraging acceptance, underplaying its Jewish origins and discouraging desecrators. Conversely, for some communities, the act of erecting a monument can be seen as an act of forgetting. Once the memorial is erected, a community may abdicate further memorial responsibility through partial or total divesting of the “obligations to remember” (Young, 1992:274). Other communities may find the act of commemorating and forgetting a “liberating mechanism” (Legg, 2007:460) allowing them to move forward.

Forgetting can also be instigated through failure of memorials and monuments to fulfil their temporal function. Built for permanence and perpetuating their messages and memory beyond living memory (Forty, 1999), memorials and monuments have achieved only what Wortamn (1996:111) has called an “illusion of permanence”. In these instances they are neither reliable nor durable agents for memory (Forty, 1999). Their intention to realize memory is almost immediately contested as, once they are erected, there is no control over meaning and interpretation of a memorial or monument. The dominant message will always be in competition with alternative memories and interpretations. This leaves meaning open to multiple interpretations which may become incomprehensible to the intended audience, bringing about a corruption or loss of official meaning (Shane, 1996; Dwyer, 2004; Legg, 2007). These developments allow for what Dwyer (2004) has described as a process of “becoming”. Reinterpretation of the past in light of present understandings gives memorials and monuments the ongoing potential for new meanings. The statue of Queen Victoria, erected in Dublin, Ireland at a time when the country was contesting British rule, lost its “illusion of permanence” soon after the country won independence in 1922. Located outside Leinster House in Dublin, the new home of the Irish Parliament, many people questioned the statue’s suitability for the site. Whelan (2002) tells of the statue’s perceived redundancy and eventual removal, firstly to sites within Dublin, then from Dublin to Sydney, Australia (see Figure 2.1). The failure of its temporal function was driven by the contested nature of the dominant memory being imposed on the landscape. It gained alternative meanings in its new setting. Individual interpretations, new contexts and shifts in meaning over time inscribe new and multiple meanings (Crampton, 2001). This milieu of meanings creates a polyvocality that has both spatial and temporal dimensions. Meanings differ and contest for dominance, simultaneously requiring the forgetting or silencing of older interpretations and meanings (Gillis, 1994; Crampton, 2001). Ultimately, “[t]he meaning of a monument, therefore, is historically contingent and discursively produced at particular times and places, and these meanings intersect with broader discourses on national history and identity” (Crampton, 2001:223).



Figure 2.1. Statue of Queen Victoria relocated from Dublin, Ireland, to Sydney Australia. Unveiled on 20th December 1987 outside the Queen Victoria Building. (Source: author)

The eradication of monuments at times of revolution and protests against colonial and totalitarian powers, illustrates the fragility of imposed shared pasts and political icons, such as in Ireland, Iraq, Central Europe and the former Soviet states. As easy, highly visible targets, public monuments have been subject to toppling, removal, sale, transportation, and destruction by various means including bombing (Whelan, 2002). The total removal of the monuments from a particular period of reign produces a form of silence where continuity with the past is expressed through alternative memories (See Whalen, 2003). In other instances monuments have been collected together and relocated in a statue park and inscribed with new meaning (Johnson, 1995; Forest, Johnson & Till, 2004). One example is the statue park, Szoborpark, in Budapest, Hungary, where over twenty monuments from the communist era have been removed from around the city and located at a single site (Johnson, 1995; www.szoborpark.hu). Figure 2.2 shows the statue of Lenin against a backdrop of other monuments. These parks graphically illustrate Hosbawm's comment describing Western monumental statuary as "an open-air museum of national history as seen through great men" (cited in Osborne, 2001:50). The purging of public monuments from the landscape or the

rendering of their meaning and memory as impotent are potent weapons of forgetting in the process of nation building (Whelan, 2003).



Figure 2.2. Lenin, Statue Park, Budapest, Hungary. This is one of more than twenty statues moved to the Park. (www.szoborpark.hu accessed 28/4/08)

Counter monuments

Not all monuments allow forgetting. Counter-monuments challenge the conventions of traditional monuments (see Table 2.1) as reminders and especially as “repositories of memory” (Zankowicz, 2005:iii), through registering disagreement and instigating reflection (Michalski, 1998; Young, 2000). Counter-monuments have focussed opposition to traditional methods of remembering (Young, 1992). Central to the creation of these non-conformist works has been the refusal to forget. In engaging with these works people are challenged to remember while the memorial returns the burden of memory back to the people (Young, 1992; Legg, 2007). Young (1992)

highlights the difficulty faced by young German artists and sculptors in designing meaningful monuments for German commemoration of aspects and the aftermath of World War II. Concerned that “meaning of events so grave might be reduced to exhibitions of public craftsmanship and cheap pathos”, the artists produced monuments/installations that were unusual, provocative and controversial, some inscribing forgotten memories of events and places back onto the landscape. The artists were calling upon people to look inward for memory so that memory no longer required the visual and physical presence of monuments (Young, 1992:272).

Table 2.1. Dualisms around memorial conventions. (Adapted from Young 1992; 2000)

Traditional monument	Counter monument
Console	provoke
Fixed	changing
Ignored/passive participation	interaction/active participation
Pristine	violation and desecration
Accepts burden of memory	throws back burden of memory
Permanence	ephemerality
Naturalises	denaturalises
Benign	threatening

Commemorative and memorial trees have generally been viewed as traditional monument and not seen to be contentious, especially at the time of planting (or abstract, as with many German counter monuments). However, they do fulfil many of the opposing conventions listed in Table 2.1. For example, war memorial trees act both to console those mourning the dead by providing a physical focus for their loss and to provoke by being a constant reminder of service and loss. Trees are fixed in space but undergo fundamental changes throughout their yearly cycles and life cycles of growth, maturity and death. As with stone monuments there is no guarantee of permanency. The tree can be seen as both permanent and ephemeral, in that trees can survive for a number of generations therefore persisting beyond the lifetime of individuals and taking on the characteristics of permanency. The ephemeral nature is expressed through their limited life span and final removal from the landscape.

Commemorative and memorial trees, then, are situated within both columns of the table and how they are viewed is predicated on each generation's understanding of their past and the events and people that the trees represent.

Summary

Public memorials and monuments, including trees, have been charged with important memory missions, yet they have been criticised for their ubiquity, invisibility, fetishism and for casting of their subjects into oblivion (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2003). Such comments are made from the position of hindsight in a growing literature across a number of disciplines which centres its research on these very objects. Brubaker & Feischmidt (2002) and Beiner (2004) have commented on the lack of literature on the popular reception and level of effectiveness, spatially or temporally, of a public monument after its unveiling. As there is little or no control over interpretation once they are inaugurated, memorials and monuments do not always resonate in projected ways with their intended audience. Memorials and monuments take on different meanings based on people's own experiences and memories of the monument (Cooke, 2000). People's knowledge and experiences will also determine whether or not a memorial or monument will function as a mnemonic. There remains a continuing fluidity of meaning around the understandings of social statements embedded in memorials and monuments as social and power relations change over time. The politics of memory become highlighted as meanings and interpretations are contested. Interpretations have responded to new power relations, the acknowledged polyvocality of collective memory, and society's contemporary understandings of itself. Memorials and monuments cannot be considered passive and neutral ornamental objects in civic and private spaces. They are potent signifiers of identity, politics and social order, constructed within a time specific network of political, social, cultural and economic conditions (Whelan, 2003). Reinterpretation through intersections with wider discourses of nation and identity represents part of the ongoing quest for new understandings and reconsiderations of the past in the light of knowledge of the present (Gillis, 1994). This continues Dwyer's (2004) ongoing process of becoming, which is the continual production and reproduction of meaning. It is within these practices and understandings that the interpretations of commemoratives trees, as agents of memory, are situated. Memorials and monuments do not exist independent from the landscape in which they have been placed. The

next chapter explores interpretations of landscape as a basis for bringing together landscapes of memory.

Chapter 3

Landscapes of Memory

“All landscapes embody memories, and through mnemonics the past is continuously drawn into the present as identities are crafted” (Wilson and David, 2002:6).

“transformation of ideas from one medium to another” (Duncan, 1990:4).

Representing Landscape

Landscape in the Western tradition is an invention of the Renaissance. The concept embodies the material construction of nature by culture and its pictorial representation as a scene. Both are multifarious and multilayered constructions of meaning and memory (Cosgrove, 1989; Whyte, 2002), “built from a rich deposit of myths, memories and obsessions” (Schama, 1995:14). As a result, landscape, as noted by Duncan (2000), is a polysemic term. Numerous meanings and multiple readings underlie the contested nature of the study and interpretation of landscape, not only in the discipline of Geography (Bender, 1993; Seymour, 2000). Landscape is now commonly studied by a diverse range of disciplines, each having defined landscape specifically to suit its field, or speciality (Tress and Tress, 2001). Owing to the extensive discourse offered on landscape, the first part of the chapter identifies the essential visual origins of the term and analyses its historical development under the title of “Education of the Eye”. Nationalistic traditions discussed by Schama (1995) in *Landscape and Memory* are translated very clearly into colonial contexts. This comprises the theme of the second section. The later part of this chapter focuses on

four theoretical aspects of the cultural landscape expressed as metaphors: landscape as a way of seeing, as a way of reading, as iconography and as having performative features. These in turn provide a framework for the study of memorial landscapes. Further, these metaphors highlight the social constructedness of landscape in both its material and pictorial form.

Education of the Eye: the historical development of the concept of landscape

The notion of education of the eye has been at the heart of the development of the idea of landscape since the inception of the concept during the fifteenth century (de Bolla, 2003). Whether it has been as a genre of painting, an aesthetic and response, a social construction or as a way of seeing, landscape has been the ‘canvas’ on which many aspects of social change and understandings have been represented. Landscape production has responded to wealth, power, whim and fancy. In doing so it has privileged the view, given prominence to wealth and power, and romanticised, idealised, marginalised or excluded the people who were the very means of production of those landscapes (Barrell, 1980). In the modern era, landscapes, whether material or representational, are illustrative of social relations with land and have been at the forefront of social discourse on such themes as class, wealth and power. These have included land ownership, park and agricultural improvement and customary rights. At other times they have been relegated into the background as landscape’s moral and social narratives waned. Today, landscape, in its various forms, remains a robust and useful, albeit elastic, concept through which to investigate a range of social, economic and political relations as “it is free from fixed positions, elusive in meaning yet all embracing in scope” (Whyte, 2002:13).

Although it has been argued that the theoretical foundation for landscape was in place before the production of landscape paintings (Cosgrove, 1984), it is its visual format that has dominated, not only via popular definition but also through representation. Landscape was first defined as a technical term “for a picture representing natural inland scenery; then it was also used to mean a particular tract of land that could be seen from one point of view, as *if* it were a picture; and finally it came to mean the whole of natural scenery” (original emphasis, Heffernan, 1985:3). Travel, wealth and growing aesthetic appreciation or pretensions of aesthetic appreciation acted as agents

in the dissemination of landscape as a style of painting across Western Europe from Flanders and Italy to England, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Cosgrove (1984) argues that the first recognition of landscape art was by fifteenth century wealthy Italian merchants visiting Flanders, attracted by the exotic style of landscape backgrounds used for classical or religious subjects painted by Flemish artists. Not until the sixteenth century was landscape established as an autonomous subject for painting (Hussey, 1967). This nexus of travel, wealth and aesthetic appreciation, in the form of the 'peregrination' or the 'Grand Tour', brought the new landscape genre to England.

For centuries there has been a tradition of travel from England to the continent for "a wide variety of religious, diplomatic, military and mercantile reasons" (Brennan, 2004:9). However, it was from the middle of the sixteenth century that travel for educational and cultural purposes became prominent, peaking during the eighteenth century. The grand tour was seen as a finishing school for young gentlemen of wealthy aristocratic families and increasingly for gentry families. As an extended period of travel it was generally undertaken between finishing university and undertaking a career, and it exposed these gentlemen to a broad range of new innovations, including landscape paintings (Withey, 1997; Brennan, 2004). These gentlemen, along with other "wealthy and sophisticated" travellers, brought back to England large numbers of paintings, both commissioned and purchased. Some individuals returned with extensive collections, such as the Second Marquess of Annandale with more than three hundred pictures (Ingamells, 1996:27). These paintings in turn exposed local artists to new forms of representation.

The 'ideal landscape' of the seventeenth century was represented by continental artists such as Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, and Nicolas Poussin. They were particularly known for representing nature in imaginative settings, using wild or fierce aspects of nature or romantic lighting. In the eighteenth century this became the basis for interpretation of and comparison with English landscape painting and eventually applied to material landscapes (Hussey 1967; Watson, 1970; Heffernan, 1985). The work of these artists and others were popular purchases whilst on tour, due in part to their ease of purchase and export compared with the works of the great masters (Haskell, 1996). Watkins (1982) noted that the appreciation and interpretations of

local landscapes was possible only after familiarisation with the works of such seventeenth century landscape painters. Participation in the analysis of landscape required a moneyed public possessing an appropriate education, leisure time for the appreciation of art and later the participation in travel within England for the aesthetic pleasure of local natural scenery (Copley and Garside, 1994; Pfau, 1997).

Such a public could then be further educated in the methods for understanding and appreciating landscape. These methods were predicated on contemporary ideas of spectatorship and the eye being directly linked to the emotional core. Thus, the viewing of a landscape had a psychological effect (Kroeber, 1975; Cosgrove, 1985; Bermingham, 2005). The development of an aesthetic approach to landscape through distinguishable and distinctive categories of the picturesque, the sublime and the beautiful provided the educated English class with a means of interpretation. This offered a distinct perspective for viewing, assigning and critiquing landscape painting and natural landscapes (Withey, 1997; Conron, 2000). Continental artists defined the repertoire of images for the beautiful and the sublime until the middle of the nineteenth century. But it was the English painters, in particular, that defined the picturesque, occupying the middle ground between the beautiful and the sublime. The picturesque brought together human sensibilities, culture, art and nature, through the provocation of the eye and the mind (Conron, 2000).

The picturesque emerged as a phenomenon of taste at a time when painters were taking greater interest in the British countryside. As an aesthetic category it visualised and pictorialised nature and the countryside, as landscape. Its techniques provided an intellectual way of viewing, composing and responding to nature, “a mode for processing the physical world” from a hostile unknown to a safe pictorial representation (Hunt, 1992:4). William Gilpin, through his publications of his tours, introduced his readership to the components and nuances of the picturesque. He used particular characteristics associated with irregularity of line, colour and texture. This enabled the recognition of specific natural scenes as worthy of painting. To gain intellectual pleasure beyond the recognition of the beauty of the scene, the scene was often mentally manipulated. This drew on the observer’s classical education by evoking the artificial landscape works of both painting and literature, such as Claude’s landscapes and images from Virgil’s poetry (Ballantyne, 2002).

This approach enabled the educated observer to knowledgeably view and experience the visual sensation of the pictorial or natural landscape and provided a language for its articulation (Watson, 1970; Conron, 2000), thus giving the “practitioner” the “visual and descriptive competence” (Pfau, 1997:28) to identify, visualise and recollect appropriately (Ballantyne, 2002). Hundreds of guidebooks and sketchbooks by reputable writers, such as Gilpin, Thomas Gray and later, Wordsworth, and those lesser known, were produced to assist practitioners in the appreciation of natural landscapes. These books helped shape the development of the aesthetic by guiding people in their choices of what places to visit, what to observe, and how to appreciate what they saw (Withey, 1997; Bramen, 2002). The picturesque fulfilled the growing demand for interactions with landscapes which engaged more than visual satisfaction. Through active continuation of the notion of the ideal landscape, the picturesque maintained the former’s ‘improving’ mentality as both intellectual and technical practices (Watson, 1970).

The aesthetic consciousness and improving mentality moved the concept of the ‘ideal landscape’ from the walls of the country houses to the environment outside. Pleasure grounds and estate gardens became living ‘canvases’ on which the changing modes of taste were expressed. Central to these transformations was the particular use and deployment of trees. By the early mid eighteenth century the development of a new garden style echoed the historical landscapes paintings from the continent. The Italian influence, classical allusions and serpentine lines created strong references to Claude and Poussin. In laying out the garden, it was treated as if a painting, with the area under development divided into the painting convention of three planes: the foreground, the middle ground and the background, in which specific focal elements were concentrated. Vistas were created as views and framed with trees, some sequenced to be viewed in order to be seen to their best advantage (Williamson, 1995). Lancelot Brown, working in the second half of the eighteenth century, reversed the painting reference by producing landscapes capable of inspiring the labours of poets and painter. Brown’s speciality was the landscape park. Seeing himself as an ‘improver’ and a ‘place-maker’, Brown changed the gardening vocabulary of the time by removing classical, Arcadian and geometric associations. In partnership with nature, in its improved more perfect form, he would create a

harmonious, highly constructed, ideal ‘natural’ landscape, offering scenes worthy of a painter. These gardens were long term commitments as young trees planted took years to attain their full effect. Aesthetic enhancements to an estate were expensive and time consuming, and took up a considerable amount of land, for example, some clients were willing to lose sixty to eighty acres of fertile land to one of Brown’s lakes (Turner, 1985). In a number of cases the dedication of this amount of land to non-productive activities was only possible because of the parallel revolution in agricultural practice.

The enclosure of the open fields, commons and waste lands was one way of gaining additional land for estate enlargement, aesthetic and agricultural improvement. As noted by Williamson (1995), enclosure had been a progressive practice since the fifteenth century. The pace of enclosure accelerated during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, when acts of parliament were required to enclose particular areas, making available land deemed to be necessary for agricultural expansion. Williamson (1995) also points to the role of the tree as a potent symbol of enclosed land. Thousands of trees were planted in gardens, deer, forest and landscape parks, something that was not possible in the open fields system, where trees were used for firewood or as animal fodder (Daniels, 1988). More emblematic of the practicalities of enclosure were fences, stone walls, hedges and gates which over time became ubiquitous markers in the landscape.

The progressive, ‘improver’ estate was a powerful image, as can be seen in Figure 3.1, Gainsborough’s painting *Mr and Mrs Andrews* (circa 1750). Modern, up-to-date agriculture methods and signs of enclosure are evident, the rows of wheat have been ploughed “in the modern manner” indicated by the straight and regular ridge and furrow pattern; sheep are ‘enclosed’ within a hedge and gate system (Vaughan, 2002:57); and trees are evident across the landscape and as a stately backdrop to Mr and Mrs Andrews themselves. Amongst Gainsborough’s work this painting remains a rare detailed example of the direct association between the landowner and agricultural improvement, something that both landowners and garden/park designers spent a great deal of time and money on to conceal from view. There is debate over how often such images were painted. Payne (1993) contends that many ‘improver’ landowners commissioned paintings of progressive agricultural undertakings,

implements, prize stock and agricultural events, while Prince (1988) argues that agricultural innovation was not a popular subject amongst artists or landowners.



Figure 3.1. Mr and Mrs Andrews, by Thomas Gainsborough, 1748-1750. © National Gallery London. Source: Asfour and Williamson (1999:50)

Not all painters of the period, including Constable, were comfortable with the impacts of the new agricultural and social changes. They drew on more traditional agricultural practices, capturing instead bucolic, harmonious scenes of productivity, imagined of the older, more traditional social relations that were disappearing. This memory was being forgotten in the face of the new agricultural improvements (Barrell, 1980); a backward gaze tinged with regret. Despite cultivated landscapes being considered vulgar and low order subject matter by the theorists of the picturesque, commercially these paintings had a considerable following, with a buoyant market found among those of popular taste (Payne, 1993).

Colonial Visions

The picturesque in the colonies of New Zealand and Australia also linked topography and identity. It was used to convey and confirm the “essential(ising) Englishness of the colonies and the processes of their transformation (McLean, 2007:26). British artists used both topographical and picturesque traditions to represent the unknown landscapes of the colonies in a safe familiar pictorial form for their audiences (Hunt, 1992; Dunn, 2003). Surveyors, travelling artists, and amateur artists (both settlers and

visitors) portrayed both the potentiality of new sites for development, generally depicting examples of expansive, attractive views devoid of native inhabitants, which awaited the brave immigrant, and the civilising progress which had already been achieved. These paintings reinforced the view that New Zealand and Australia had few impediments to settlement; the land being unused and under-populated. While topographically representative, many images were manipulated to varying degrees to fulfil the conventions of the picturesque and/or the requirements of sponsors. As an 'improving' convention landscapes and settlements were represented as enhanced versions of themselves (Hansen, 2007). Hamlets and towns were depicted as tidier, more secure and prosperous, without the problems that usually accompanied frontier or colonial settlement (Dunn, 2003).

The success of the picturesque in the colonial context, as noted by McLean (2007), was its adaptability, generality and inclusiveness. The range of appropriate subject matter expanded from "depictions of village scenes and georgic rural life, to borderland rambles and sublime mountain scenery and wilderness areas" (McLean, 2007:27). This was put to good use back in Britain for propaganda purposes in the promotion of migration schemes. Such paintings, along with narrative descriptions, personal correspondence and advertising were used to attract prospective capital and migrants to various colonies. During the early 1840s the New Zealand Company used the paintings supplied by their surveyors Charles Heaphy, Captain William Mein Smith, Samuel Charles Brees, and Charles Kettle in promotional work for its New Zealand colonies (Docking, 1982). William Fox, also employed by the company, submitted illustrative works from his explorations with his reports. These were primarily seen by the company as visual information and not art, but were seldom used in propaganda materials (Trevalyan, 2000). Independent of works produced for migration companies, paintings were also sent back to England for publication, exhibition and sale. Both Heaphy (1842) and Brees (1847) published books using their paintings. Augustus Earle, a travelling artist, exhibited works from his travels in Australia and New Zealand in London and Liverpool (Docking, 1982). John Glover, an expatriate British artist, exhibited paintings of Tasmania in London during 1836 (Hansen, 2007). These are just a few examples. Through multiple exhibitions and narrative and pictorial publications the British public were introduced to a vision or representation of New Zealand and Australia throughout the settler and colonial eras,

via the conventions of the picturesque. These conventions in turned belied much of the realities of colonisation. As the artists witnessed, participated in and perpetuated the transformation of the colonies through their pictorial constructions of landscape, an ever increasing number of settlers and colonists were engaged in large scale ideologically-driven transformations of the material landscapes.

The physical transformation of the landscapes of New Zealand and Australia was forged by the very processes of colonisation and premised on understandings of landscape in Britain. Migrants were accompanied by a plethora of plants, animals, diseases, cultural processes and understandings, and European technologies that were integral in the success of the colonies. The New Zealand Company stated that their objective was the wholesale transplantation everything of England but the soil to the colony (Moppett, 1998). This cultural capital acted as a fluid frontier before which the indigenous landscapes of the southern colonies were transformed into settlements and farms of the agricultural and pastoral ideal. Crosby (1986), in his book called *Ecological Imperialism*, called this transformation “Europeanization”, which was brought to bear on the indigenous landscape to bring about environmental revolution.

Most revolutionary to the indigenous landscape of New Zealand was the British attitude to nature. In general this was one of fear. The British drew on the belief that nature was subordinate to the human race and to be controlled and used in whatever manner that was beneficial. This authority came from God through the Bible; therefore it was a God-given duty and an economic imperative to make, what was perceived of as the empty, unused land of New Zealand, productive, using reliable methods from the homeland. Cultivation could only be undertaken after unruly nature had been removed and replaced by a civilised nature in the form of agriculture. Through this process nature was converted into culture and the improved cultivated character of the land was used as a measure to reflect the advanced civilised attainment of the people, as understood by European standards (Thomas, 1987). The agricultural and pastoral landscapes of Britain were replicated, in many cases, irrespective of the suitability of the topography or soil to the land-use. For the colonies to survive it was an economic imperative that land be made productive and profit be made from the sale of its yields.

Much of the achievement of the transformation of the landscape was due to the success of the European species in their new environments. Many plants grew exceeding well, in numerous cases outperforming their counterparts in the northern hemisphere (Clark, 2002; 2003). Popular belief, based on observation, held that European plants were outcompeting indigenous species for space and resources and would at some point in the near future become extinct (Star, 2005). These observations were in line with the scientific idea of 'displacement', propounded by a number of eminent scientists of the age. In turn, these reinforced the superiority of European species over indigenous ones in the minds of the settlers and colonists. This was further supported by the commonly held belief that indigenous tree species were difficult to propagate and much slower in growth habit (Beattie & Star, 2005). By the 1890s the extensive indigenous forests, thought to be inexhaustible, were under threat. Wasteful practices saw the best forest trees milled for timber and the remainder destroyed. With greater cultural and economic value placed on pastoral and agricultural landscapes, the pressures to remove the forests completely were intense. Any attempts at reforestation used only exotic species illustrating the power of these popular beliefs (Beattie & Star, 2005). From the British cultural viewpoint, indigenous trees were foreign, holding neither cultural reference points nor any symbolic attachment. In the politics of tree planting, northern hemisphere trees, whose form, growth habits, utility, beauty and in some instances, cultural significance, were familiar and understood, making them an obvious choice for use.

The 1890s, as highlighted by Beattie and Star (2005) and Ross (2008), proved to be a turning point in the attitudes to nature and forests. Growing concerns over forest destruction and conservation were first raised during the 1850s. Legislative measures of the late 1860s 1870s and 1880s were unsuccessful in slowing the pace of destruction or conserving forests; the measures being largely unsupported by the financial commitment needed (Beattie & Star, 2005). At the national level Arbor Day, school gardens and nature studies in schools, were introduced to address various concerns: forest depletion and a potential shortage of timber; attitudes towards nature and the its general treatment; and the lack of a public spirit and national character (Ross, 2008). Each of these initiatives focussed on the local environment as a means of benefiting the whole country. It was hoped that a nationwide approach to what were seen as national problems, would unify and educate people, making them more

“responsible citizens” who would “not repeat the mistakes of the past” (Ross, 2008:21). The benefits of these initiatives merged with a growing identification of the European population with New Zealand and, by the early 1900s, the uniqueness of its flora. The prominent use of native flora during the Royal Tour of 1901 emphasised the distinct identity New Zealanders as people and New Zealand as a country was beginning to cultivate, in doing so identifying with and drawing upon nature for national distinctiveness (Bennett, 1987; Kaufmann, 1998). New Zealand was one of a number of settler societies who, during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, re-imagined their identity by aligning themselves with indigenous flora and/or prominent landscapes (Kaufmann, 1998; Zimmer, 1998; Osborne, 2003). These nationalistic alignments were a continuation of processes that have been active for centuries, in which flora, fauna and entire landscapes have been used in the construction of group and national identity. New colonies required time to experience their own landscapes to, in turn, create new associations and sentiments (Schama, 1995). The evolution of attitudes and associations with nature helped assisted the government in legislating for the conservation of land and forests for scenic values (Beattie & Star, 2005).

This new appreciation for the native flora did not immediately translate into widespread public or civic planting. Nature studies in schools continued to include native flora. Popular interest in native flora rose during the 1920s and 1930s with an assortment of groups formed with an interest in popularising information on these plants. From the 1920s local gardeners had access to a wide range of native plants and seeds from commercial nurseries from the 1920s (Ross, 2008). This enthusiasm also translated to the commemorative landscape. During the 1930s native trees emerged as a viable option for use as commemorative trees. This was particularly evident in the nationwide commemorations of the 25th anniversary of the reign of George V and the coronation of George VI. In the build up to the New Zealand centennial celebrations in 1940 commemorative tree planting and forest preservation were actively promoted as noble and superior forms of commemorative activities. The Hon. W. E. Parry, Minister of Internal Affairs in charge of the celebrations, was particularly in favour of memorial trees. In his eyes they were noble and superior to stone and marble alternatives and would be “living reminders of the completion of New Zealand’s first century as a British country and the inauguration of another era of

progress”, effectively dividing the past from the future (cited in Ross, 2008:110). The same trees also highlighted the environmental concerns of the day that were a direct result of that progress, namely soil erosion. To ensure uptake of the tree planting idea, the Centennial Branch of Internal Affairs Centennial Committee targeted three groups: District centennial committees, schools and Young Farmers’ Clubs. In schools native plants were propagated in school gardens and nurseries for planting out during 1940. The children were taught about native flora and the importance in protecting it, particularly in relation to their role in the conservation of soil fertility (Ross, 2008). During that year Christchurch East School planted a kauri tree as part of their celebrations, which today still stands in the grounds of the school.

The following year Mr Parry made a similar call highlighting the suitability of trees as memorials to the dead of the Second World War. He emphasized that such undertakings would contribute to the betterment of the country as a whole by continuing to “help to strengthen a necessary tree-mindedness in New Zealand”, assist in the combating of soil erosion and provide habitats for native birds (*Nelson Mail*, 19/7/1941). As early as July 1941 a number of memorial tree planting schemes had been proposed or undertaken, several of which included the planting of large numbers of native trees (*Nelson Mail*, 19/7/1941).

It is only in more recent times that a more general move toward native tree planting has been undertaken, particularly in the more domestic landscape of the urban street. Taking Christchurch as an example, there appears to have been a distinct time lag between the prominent appearance of native trees as memorials in the 1930s and the popular appearance of native species as street trees. An analysis of the Christchurch City Council (1999) street tree inventory indicates that only a tentative start in the use of native trees was made between 1930 and 1969. During these four decades 66 trees (dated entries in inventory) were planted: sixty of them were planted during the 1960s, with known native trees were planted during the 1950s. The council made a greater commitment to the use of native trees during the 1970s with almost 1000 trees planted throughout the decade. Over three times this number was planted throughout the 1980s and a further increase of 24% during the 1990s saw 4179 trees planted during that decade. Over the years the number of varieties has increased with emphasis placed on faster growing, small to medium sized species, commensurate

with the scale of the streets. The larger native species have remained popular for commemorative purposes.

The landscape of New Zealand has undergone dramatic changes in the last almost one hundred and seventy years of official history. New ideological understandings defining different relations between nature and culture were applied to the indigenous landscape. Within this ideology attitudes to nature and landscape have changed in relation to social and economic pressures throughout this period. The next section offers a theoretical framework through which these changes can be understood.

Idea of Landscape: a way of seeing

One of the first major works on landscape within the new cultural framework of social sciences in the 1980s was *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* by Denis Cosgrove (1984). This work brought together a number of ideas into a theorized unit under the rubric of the idea of landscape. Cosgrove (1984) emphasised the production of landscapes, examining landscapes, both material and pictorial, as social constructions. These landscapes were products of particular junctures of history, time, and location, social, economic and political relations. The portrayal of the representations, understandings and relationships between power, social relations, nature and land were ideologically framed. The projection of these components on to the land has been regulated by the “way in which some Europeans have represented to themselves and to others the world about them and their relationships with it, and through which they have commented on social relations”, thus, constituting “a way of seeing” (Cosgrove, 1984:1).

Cosgrove (1984) argued that the idea of landscape emerged out of the major social changes of the Renaissance along with new methods of organising space. This included the changing conceptualisation of land, its definition, role, value and ultimate commodification (Cosgrove, 1984; Cosgrove, 1985). The individualization of space within the idea of landscape was given a way of seeing through the development of linear perspective and the control of visual space by the eye. This individual control of space was later embodied through the ownership of rural land. In eighteenth and nineteenth century England, this was re-presented as landscape. The

movement from the pictorial to the material landscape was facilitated by the flow of excess capital wealth from the city to the country which contributed to the commodification of rural land and the emergence of highly valued rural land/scape. The rural countryside became the literal canvas upon which cultural, social, political and economic relations were physically expressed: “a way of seeing projected on to land and having its own techniques and compositional forms” (Cosgrove, 1984:269). The rendering of such relations was so dominant as to severely weaken alternative ways of experiencing nature (Cosgrove, 1984).

Thus Cosgrove’s approach provided a dynamic means of interpretation. Landscapes were no longer passive images or objects, but forceful social and cultural expressions of the ideology of the time. Cosgrove’s idea of landscape established a means for broadening the field of landscape(s) studies, positing different terms of reference for the interpretation of landscape. Hence, ideological shifts and periods of major social change produced new social processes and understandings that created, interpreted and transformed the representation of landscape (Cosgrove, 1984). This connects directly to the ideologically charged nature of the expression of collective memory through commemorative landscapes.

Intertextuality: a way of reading

While Cosgrove (1984) perceived the landscape as a way of seeing, Duncan and Duncan (1988:125) posited an approach where landscape could be read as a text. Duncan and Duncan (1988:125) argued that landscape can be viewed “as transformations of social and political ideologies into physical form”. In this context “text” can be specific written texts detailing such ideologies or more obscure references. In both instances social processes guide the production or reading of the landscape. Reading the landscape was not a new concept. Cultural geographers, such as Carl Sauer, prior to the ‘cultural turn’, had been reading the landscape by discerning the impact of cultural groups on the landscape (Duncan, 1990). Duncan and Duncan (1988) responded to the new emerging cultural geography, drawing on text discourses in literary theory and applied the concept of intertextuality to landscapes. Within literary theory, intertextuality implied that the “context of any text is other texts” (Duncan, 1990:4). The value of the concept to landscape interpretation

can be seen in Eagleton's (1983) almost geographic description of the subtleties within text, through the "'backgrounds' and 'foregrounds', different narrative viewpoints, alternative layers of meaning between which we are constantly moving" (Duncan and Duncan 1988:120). The intertextuality of landscape therefore lies within the context of its production and readings, where texts used may come from a variety of media, including other cultural productions implying a multiplicity of authors named and anonymous (Duncan and Duncan 1988; Barnes and Duncan, 1992)

Incorporating intertextuality into the historical and cultural contexts and social processes which have inscribed texts into landscape has been a valuable analytical tool, as the framework has enabled it to be applied to historical and contemporary landscapes of any culture and at a range of geographical scales (Duncan and Duncan, 1988; Duncan 1990; Duncan 1995). The resulting landscape interpretation was one of a number of possibilities, reflecting the unstable and pluralistic nature of the meaning of landscape and the subjectivity of the interpretation (Duncan and Duncan, 1988). No two interpretations are the same as individual readers of the landscape bring their own experiences, knowledge and texts of influence to their interpretation (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). Trees in turn can be 'read'. They have been potent ideological markers in the conveying of particular social or political philosophies. The British oak, with its imperial associations, has been deployed across the British Empire to convey particular notions of power and identity and naturalise these notions within the landscape as an unquestioned part of social practice.

Iconography

Daniels and Cosgrove (1988) introduced another major facet of the interpretation of landscape: the analysis of cultural symbols and images. This concept was drawn from the discipline of art theory which explores the meanings of symbolic imagery, allegories and other conventions used by artists in their composition. Since all landscapes are cultural constructions and carry symbolic meanings, individual elements or groups of elements can be examined for their symbolism: each symbolic element having its own context, history, written and verbal representations. The visual/pictorial aspect of landscape remained strong in this analysis, supported by a range of intertextual approaches (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). The ease of

identification and interpretation of the symbolic representations of social, economic, political and cultural relations expressed in the landscape is dependent on the level of clarity of the referents used (Cosgrove, 1989).

The contributors to the Daniels and Cosgrove's publication *The Iconography of Landscape* (1988) opened up the study of landscape with the breadth of possibilities that their examples presented. The new study of distinct cultural elements was similar in intent to the way that the study of landscape morphology broke "the observed unity into constituent parts and subjects each to detailed examination" (Cosgrove, 1984:16). The legitimisation of the study of material components of the cultural landscape broadened the scope of what a landscape was and could possibly be, and made way for the proliferation of the study of discrete symbolic landscapes. Elements or assemblages of micro landscapes based on a single theme could be aggregated across time and space to be studied and interpreted individually and collectively as constituent parts of larger symbolic landscapes. An illustration of this is the Oamaru memorial oaks commemorating North Otago men who died in the First World War. The oaks can be studied as a discrete war memorial landscape; as part of First World War memorials; all war memorials; and at a range of geographical scales. The memorial oaks are at once a discrete memorial landscape and part of a larger memorial landscape.

Landscape as Theatre

Daniels and Cosgrove (1993) more explicitly brought together the visual, textual and iconographic components in their treatment of landscape as theatre (Cosgrove, 1998). From this perspective landscape becomes a performative space on and through which a broad range of cultural understandings are inscribed, mediated and contested by society. This metaphor first became popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth century when the theatre was an important medium for the conveyance of new ideas. Theatrical tropes were applied to landscape for effect (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993). According to Jackson (1979) the metaphor implied three interrelated ideas: "(1) that theater is a stage production with a set of socially and artistically determined rules, (2) that humans control and design the landscape as if it were a theatrical stage, and (3) that theater imparts the human ability to see themselves as occupying the center of the

stage” (Lukinbeal, 2005:3-4). Theatre (in the broadest sense a platform for presenting information for public understanding (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993)) was the consummate ‘stage’ for the presentation of the expanding knowledge of the sciences, the arts and the world, “all the chorographical, esthetic and philosophical theories redefining men [sic] and the world” (Jackson, 1979:4). Dominating in the sixteenth century, theatre as spectacle informed and entertained through defined space, place and time and “coherent action” (Jackson, 1979:4), such as the grand scale pageant, and appealed to the senses (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993). Seventeenth century theatre as drama was on a more intimate scale, where broad political and social themes were embedded within the frozen action on the canvas, appealing to the intellect and best conveyed the concerns of the age: specifically place, visibility and identity (Jackson, 1979; Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993). Theatre as a metaphor drew from the pool of social, economic and political relations, and advanced in all disciplines of the age and articulated them through landscape to the observer. Underlying the shift from spectacle to drama were changes in the authority of text over image and wider social changes in response to Jackson’s concerns of the age (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993).

The landscape as theatre metaphor waned in popularity by the end of the seventeenth century across all forms of representation on the continent. Theatre emerged again as a meaningful metaphor in landscape aesthetic and estate improvements of Georgian England. On the intimate scale of the estate and pleasure grounds, landscaped gardens became theatrical spaces for the performance of plays, operas and other entertainments with purpose built areas. Drama on the personal scale was achieved by means of various devices which engaged visitors as active participants within the broader ‘drama’ of the garden design. This was achieved through the effective use of design elements that elicited emotional responses, of expectation, surprise and excitement via discovery and choice, and the sequencing of multiple prepared scenes (Hunt, 1992). Politically, the drama of land, money and their potential for destabilising society was played out, in and through the landscape, where real landscapes became the battleground for conservatism, stability and moral narratives. The intentional manipulation of the view was effected, material and/or pictorial, using theatrical framing of the vista and the panorama, and their interpretation, was effected

to bring social control back to the elite and maintain traditional relationships with the land (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1993; Sullivan, 1998; Conron, 2000).

Once again landscape as theatre has gained popularity as the stage on which the dramas of large social and commemorative events are played out. Commemorative ritual and pageantry has been framed and analyzed as performance and spectacle (see Driver and Gilbert, 1998; Johnson, 1999). Victorian commemorative spaces became the stages upon which royal pageantry and 'statumania' were executed (Canadine, 1983). This engages with the choreographed nature of commemoration and contestation of memory, place and space. City spaces can be understood in this way. For example, the landscape of O'Connell Street in Dublin became the stage and setting for highly choreographed commemoration and contestation over power, identity and representation (Whelan, 2001). The invention of Anzac Day in New Zealand and Australia created both ephemeral and permanent masculine performative spaces, dominated by militaristic rituals. These spaces were multifunctional, allowing for the remembrance of fallen comrades and provided a platform for invited speakers to comment on the state of society and appeal for social improvement (Henry, 2002). Although the permanent sites have taken on almost sacred overtones, they have been the focal point of contest and protest over the very things that were to be remembered: war, memory and the state of society. The meanings attached to such vistas (such as those for Anzac Day and Dublin's O'Connell Street) are not static. They are culturally and historically variable (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). Meanings are re-inscribed, reconfigured or ignored by subsequent generations looking for continuity, relevancy and new meaning within their own set of social, economic and political relations, which in turn reinforces or undermines the performative and symbolic power of the landscape.

Summary: Landscape and Memory

Landscape, then, is a multifarious concept, whose representations have been created, structured and maintained through particular intersecting social, economic and political relations. These manifestations can be read as texts, referring to oral and written texts that support and give power to such relations and their manifestations. Within such manifestations symbolic referents, theatre and performance have been used to enhance and dramatise the significance and meaning of the various relations.

It is within this complex construction that memory, as a different expression of similar social forces, is produced and reproduced. The frameworks for interpretations of landscape offered by Cosgrove, Daniels, Duncan and Duncan, and others have provided numerous avenues for the interpretation of the memorial landscape. Their modes of interpretation have reinvigorated the intellectualized approach to landscape interpretation of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The education of the eye and psychological response valued in this period are reflected in the intentions of the roles and functions of memorials and monuments.

Elements of these four approaches by Cosgrove, Daniels and Duncan and Duncan have been used by most researchers in the study of landscape and memory during the last two decades. Within this context they are equally applicable to the interpretation of ideology, social processes and memory written in trees. Trees differ from other memorials as they are not constructed by a person in a particular form. They are living organisms which have been co-opted in the articulation of particular ideals, messages and memories. Trees are, therefore, framed in various ways to articulate social relations. The Lovelock Oak at Timaru Boys High School, Timaru, New Zealand provides a useful example. This tree was present to New Zealander Jack Lovelock, winner of the 1500 metre race at the 1936 Berlin Olympics and was one of 130 oak saplings awarded to gold medal winners at the event (Constandt, 1994). According to Constandt (1994:1) the sapling was presented as a gift from the German people as a gesture of peace and goodwill. Around the pot was inscribed 'Grow to the honour of victory! Summon to further achievement'. However, the Olympics were overshadowed by political tensions in Germany and the ascendancy of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi NSDAP party as the dominant authoritative political power. Described by Lovelock as one of Hitler's Oaks (McNeish, 1994), the sapling can be read as symbolising German strength within the ideology expounded by Hitler and the Nazi regime. The Lovelock tree was presented in a highly choreographed performance. Medal winners had to bow before blond German youths who presented the trees and crowns of oak leaves (McNeish, 1994): the drama resembling homage being rendered unto Caesar, in this case Adolf Hitler. Within this reading the transportation and planting of the trees in the winners' countries symbolically foreshadows Hitler's dream of the future spread of fascism around the world. In New Zealand the tree was inscribed with a different trope of associations and memories. Placed in the landscape

of Timaru Boys' High School, the tree came to represent British strength, endurance, victory and Jack Lovelock's association with the school. As indicated by Duncan and Duncan (1988) this represents one possible reading. As social processes landscape and memory are intertwined. In their production they express a way of seeing that highlights the sanitized, partial views of the past that both landscape and memory individually offer.

Chapter 4

Charting Memories

“One might say that he [the historical geographer] needs the ability to see the land with the eyes of its former occupants, from the standpoint of their needs and capacities” (Sauer, 1941: 10).

Introduction

This chapter mobilises ideas from chapters 2 and 3 in the particular context of a landscape of memory, in this instance, constructed around trees. Much of the research for this thesis has been undertaken in New Zealand with a focus on memorial practises which have been transferred from Europe. It is acknowledged that prior to European contact Aotearoa/New Zealand was not *terra nullius*; memory enveloped the land. A Māori holistic world view and experiences developed with several hundred years of Māori settlement, spreading across the landscape and establishing a memory landscape (Yoon, 1986). As a New Zealander of colonial descent this is not a narrative I am qualified to tell nor do I possess the sensitivity to tell it. New Zealand has multifaceted landscapes of memory which have developed at different points in time while sharing similar physical spaces. Within these shared spaces memory and meaning have shifted in the telling and remembering and their significances shift over time (Rubin, 1995).

At this point it is helpful to define the terms ‘memorial landscape’ and ‘commemorative tree’ in terms of the colonial and post-colonial context of this study. A landscape of memory or memorial landscape is one constructed around the physical manifestation of memory in the form of commemorative markers, that being memorials and monuments in their diverse forms. This landscape can be studied as discrete micro elements focussing on single installations or aggregated by form,

theme, space or time, or a combination of these. In this instance commemorative trees represent a specific memorial landscape in which individuals or groups of people have planted trees on particular occasions to celebrate or memorialise an event or person. The planting is normally part of a ritualised ceremony at which speeches are made and the tree is planted in a pre-dug hole. However, in some instances the trees are planted prior to the ceremony which itself becomes one of dedication. The ceremony in turn may be part of a larger choreographed event of which tree-planting is one aspect. In order to identify such landscapes field and archival work was undertaken to locate commemorative trees and uncover their narratives. The geographic focus of this study is the South Island of New Zealand. For comparison other locations were investigated to help identify the similarities and differences between diverse places.

Research area.

To obtain the broadest range of trees two scales of location were chosen, cities and towns. Research site decisions were based on variation of commemorative purposes, availability of archival resources and ease of access. The main research area was located on the east coast of the South Island of New Zealand, as seen in Figure 4.1. The two main cities of Christchurch and Dunedin were chosen as they both share histories as provincial capitals and offered the most potential for exhibiting the broadest diversity of commemorative purposes. For an international comparison Melbourne and Ballarat, in Victoria, Australia were selected (Figure 4.2) for field and archival exploration. Melbourne became state capital of Victoria in the early 1850s and thus the centre of much state based memorialisation. Ballarat took off as a town with the discovery of gold in 1851. As a result it has a very rich memorial landscape. These four cities share a number of similarities:

- All four were established within a similar time period, between 1835 and 1850
- They share similar settler origins
- There is a commonality of colonial influences and experiences
- Each city possesses a significant memorial landscape
- There are known social and economic connections during the colonial era
- Each city has an extensive urban forest, mainly planted in exotics – English and American trees
- There are good sources of information available.

In Melbourne, the research area was primarily restricted to the central business district and the parks surrounding it: Royal Botanic Gardens; the Domain Parklands which included King's Domain, Queen Victoria Gardens, Alexandra Gardens, and the Rotary Park of Remembrance; Fitzroy Gardens; and Treasury Gardens. Several parks just beyond the central city area were also visited: Carlton Gardens, Royal Park and Yarra Park. With a limited time frame for field and archival work, all parks needed to be within walking distance from the city centre and within the jurisdiction of the City of Melbourne. Research undertaken in Ballarat primarily focussed on the Ballarat Avenue of Honour, a memorial avenue of trees commemorating those who enlisted from the area during the First World War. However, other sites of interest were the Botanic Garden and the commemorative landscape of Sturt Street.

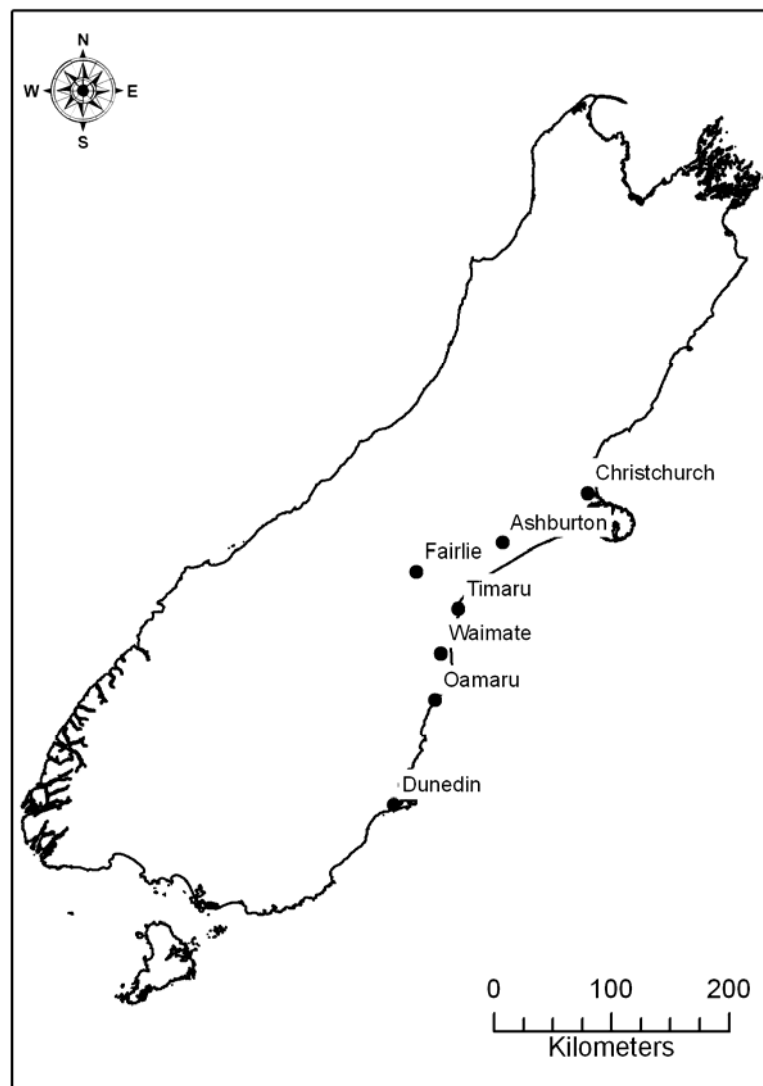


Figure 4.1 Map of the South Island, New Zealand, research sites,

Five small and medium sized east coast towns were selected from the area between Christchurch and Dunedin. Ashburton, Timaru, Waimate, Oamaru and Fairlie all exhibited a selection of commemorative trees and there was access to historical information through local museums and district councils. The expression of memory in place varies from site to site and these locations highlights the importance of all small and medium towns in having their own memory of events and own events to memorialise. Also articulated through these examples is civic pride whose temporal expression varies between places.

Distance research was also undertaken in locations beyond Australasia. This was prompted by three events. First, the finding of an article on Canadian First World War memorial avenues (Fulton, 1996) which challenged Haddow's 1987 statement that no memorial avenues were known to exist outside Australia. This article also linked the idea to Britain and the United States. Secondly, the University of Canterbury Central library trialled the *New York Times* Digital Archive between 29 August and 13 September 2005, which gave the opportunity to investigate war memorial avenues in America and any other commemorative tree plantings that could be identified. At the same time access to *The Times* Digital Archive through the Christchurch City Library meant that the same themes could be applied to Britain. I also wanted to see if I could establish a direct link between the tree-planting ceremonies being conducted in colonial New Zealand and those in Britain. The inclusion of British, Canadian and American examples allowed, where possible, for broader spatial and temporal comparisons and for the possible identification of unique trends in Australasia or New Zealand, if they existed.



Figure 4.2. Map of the Australian research sites.

Locating Trees

Previous experience in doing research of this nature was restricted to my Master's thesis on memorials and monuments of all types, not just trees. My approach then was to undertake the construction of an inventory through fieldwork, along with the search of secondary sources and theses, to identify what was in the landscape. Archival work was then carried out to help identify further examples as well as uncover the narratives of selected memorials and monuments. The resulting inventory was as comprehensive as time allowed, though by no means definitive.

This approach was applied to the current research. Taking what information that was available on commemorative trees in Christchurch, that being trees identified through the master's thesis, a published pamphlet on commemorative trees planted in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens, as well as a similar list of trees in the Botanic Gardens from the internet (these lists were not identical), a preliminary inventory was constructed. Field work was undertaken to locate these trees in the landscape. Other trees were located by walking around various parks and reserves in Christchurch. At the same time a search of the literature identified a number of articles on international examples of First World War memorial avenues, along with a New Zealand example in Oamaru. The only thesis directly related to the use of trees for commemoration was by Jane Haddow, at the University of Melbourne, Australia and as a non-interloan

item this thesis was not available to me in New Zealand. Support for the approach of going into the field before undertaking archival research comes from Norkunas (2002). In her research on memorials and monuments in Lowell, Massachusetts, USA, she found that the city authorities did not hold a comprehensive list of the city's monuments and that without knowing the name, location and date of the monuments, finding information in the various municipal archives was very difficult. This lack of success sent her out into the field to first locate and record the monuments before going to investigate a diverse range of official archives and documents and informal sources to gain further information and insight.

Having established an inventory for Christchurch, a newspaper search was carried out to locate further examples and gather newspaper articles on known plantings to see what information was given. Of particular interest was information associated with the practice of commemorative tree planting and the context in which the trees were planted. It was hoped to find specific information on the occasion, who planted the tree and their significance, who spoke at the ceremony and their significance, how many trees were planted, what species and the symbolic significance of the trees. In addition, in response to the comments of Brubaker & Feischmidt (2002) and Beiner (2004) on the lack of public reception of memorials and monuments, a check was made in relation to commemorative trees. This was incorporated into the newspaper search by extending the inspection for articles up to four weeks beyond the known planting dates. Only two articles were found. From this it would appear that commemorative trees too suffered from the same lack of post-planting commentary.

The newspaper search for new trees was problematic. Indexes to local newspapers, if they existed, were haphazard and generally held little of value for the search for commemorative trees. Since little assistance was gained from newspaper indexes, the search for additional and supplementary information focussed around two themes, royalty and Arbor Day. These were occasions on which trees were known to be planted and were celebrated country wide. An initial period of four months was spent viewing local newspapers from 1860 to the 1950s and the *Otago Daily Times* (ODT) and *Timaru Herald* from 1860 to 1900, on microfilm in Christchurch. Provincial newspapers, such as the *Oamaru Mail*, *Ashburton Guardian*, and the *Waimate Advertiser*, along with the ODT and *Timaru Herald* after 1900, were consulted in

conjunction with field work carried out in those centres. For each commemorative tree identified in Christchurch, associated newspaper articles were collected where available. The process of newspaper article acquisition was then applied to each centre, where access to newspapers was available. Trees identified through the newspaper were located in the field where possible.

In conjunction with the newspaper search, three other areas were also investigated. Contact was made with appropriate local councils to ascertain what information they held. At the same time archival work was started to both identify more trees and planting schemes and to obtain background information. The internet was used to identify further examples and was a useful tool in the gathering of references to trees in Australia. Before carrying out field work outside of Christchurch, inquiries were made at the appropriate local councils on information availability and internet searches were carried out. When on location council offices were visited if necessary, parks were walked to locate the trees, photos taken, archives visited, newspapers searched and books on local histories viewed. While in Melbourne, in addition to above, the University of Melbourne library was visited to view Jane Haddow's master's thesis and several journals not available at the University of Canterbury or on-line. Reference to trees outside the study area were also collected to extend the spatial coverage of the practice and to help ascertain if the patterns of planting found in New Zealand were similar or different from those found in Australia and beyond.

At the outset of this research project it was unclear what information would be available on trees planted and their ceremonies, therefore, there is a strong opportunistic element in relation to the search, acquisition and subsequent use of material. This is reflected in the adaptability of the research design, choices made and the sources used. With limited amount of official information available on commemorative trees, references to and information on these trees was, by necessity, gained from a large number of secondary sources. Perhaps the most opportunistic of these secondary sources has been the use of the internet in providing access to a range of material, databases and electronic archives, both local and international, which previously would not have been available with recourse to traditional sources. This has resulted in the use of a diverse range of examples from the British and American memorialising traditions over a broad geographic scale.

Resources and Information

In investigating the popularity of commemorative tree planting a number of starting assumptions were held about information and resource availability. These assumptions were found to be erroneous.

1. *Information available on trees in Christchurch is available everywhere else.* The volume of information available in Christchurch and the comparative ease of access were relatively unique at the time. It was naively expected that similar information would be available elsewhere and this was seldom the case. Over the course of the research the availability of some information has changed. New information has been added while some older information has been withdrawn from the public domain. Additional commemorative trees have been listed on the Council's website and the list of commemorative trees in the Botanic Gardens found on the internet is no longer available.

2. *Councils have lists on everything.* Councils have a great deal of information on many things. However, few have comprehensive lists on commemorative trees. Until recently the Christchurch City Council (CCC) had a book in which all commemorative trees were entered as they were planted. Unfortunately this book went missing several years before commencing this research (CCC, pers. com.). The Council's website has an illustrated catalogue of various forms of memorials and monuments to be found in the city. In the case of commemorative trees, only the plaques at the base of the tree are displayed, not the trees themselves. The Ashburton District Council held a comprehensive tree register for the Ashburton Domain. There appeared to be no equivalent register for Baring Square, another prominent commemorative space in the town. In Timaru, the Parks Department of the Timaru District Council held a list that covered not only Timaru but other towns in the district. Queries about commemorative trees in Oamaru were forwarded to the North Otago Museum which holds the borough and county archives. It did not appear that a list was held but one was quickly constructed from staff knowledge and photographic records. For the Waimate district, unless a commemorative tree was recorded in the District Plan then there was no specific list held. Neither did the Dunedin City Council or the Dunedin Botanic Garden possess comprehensive lists of trees. The current list held by the Council has trees planted from 1987 onwards. The Dunedin

Council Archives did not hold an equivalent list for earlier periods. Suggestions were made that a search of the district or city plans could be carried out. This yielded little helpful information as the trees listed were seldom commemorative and locations were difficult to ascertain.

In Australia, the Melbourne City Council did not have a comprehensive list of trees either. However, a list had been constructed as part of a report, the *Domain Parklands – Conservation Analysis* (2003), for the City of Melbourne. In this report trees were illustrated, histories were given, as were descriptions of their condition at the time and a record of plaque inscriptions. The section of commemorative trees was helpful due to the amount of detail. The Royal Botanic Garden, Melbourne, did have a list of commemorative trees, including those not marked, along with information on location and whether the tree still existed.

3. *Archives have searchable catalogues.* Experiences of independent searches at the Archives New Zealand, Christchurch and the Hocken Library, Dunedin, clouded perceptions of what could be achieved at an archive. In general the search for and retrieval of material within archives required assistance. Most places used thematic searches, for example “commemorative trees”. However, some archives, such as the Dunedin City Council Archive and the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle in Britain, use event based searches, that is one had to have an event and date to ask for a search to be made. Without knowledge of events it was almost impossible to get any information and there was little possibility of finding new trees.

4. *Libraries have newspaper indexes.* Most libraries had a limited index system for their local newspapers. These were primarily constructed around research interests of the staff. In general, this made the locating of yet to be identified trees or those without a known date of planting difficult and time consuming to trace. References to trees were found under a variety of keywords so some lateral thinking was required. In searching the indexes some new trees were highlighted, but only a few.

Archival Material

The archival material used for this research came from two types of archives. The first, typified by Archive New Zealand, contained government records which may

have been created in part for long term preservation. The second type was a more heterogeneous archive, such as that accumulated in many small town museums, for example the South Canterbury Museum. In this case the concept of the archive is a little different and is comprised of a range of materials, often informal, which provide windows into past memory which are fortuitously selective. Materials held by various archives included correspondence, minutes, reports, diaries, journals, photographic images, maps, newspapers and sound recordings (Harris, 2001). In locating source material, different strategies were required for particular types of material. The initial search of randomly selected newspapers editions, as an indication of the relative ease or difficulty in finding previously unknown tree planting, showed that an unfocussed approach was not productive and an inefficient use of time. Reports of plantings could be missed by days or weeks. This was equivalent of Harris' (2001:331) "needle-in-a-haystack operation." Once the decision had been made to focus on royal events and Arbor Day, targeted searches of newspapers for these events and associated dates made the location of information required relatively easy. At the same time a number of previously unknown plantings were uncovered. Similarly, random searching of government archives also proved problematic, where focussed searches based on events proved more profitable. It was evident that locating information on commemorative trees unrelated to the royal and Arbor Day themes would be chance finds and seen as a bonus.

The cataloguing of subject matter in manual newspaper and computerised archive indexes proved frustrating. Each establishment had its own system of cataloguing and keyword usage. Obvious search words, such as 'memorial' or 'commemorative tree/s' were not always successful in identifying material. This required the broadening the range of possible useful words. At the Christchurch City Central Library, when looking for references for previous unfound trees, it was necessary to search such headings as 'trees', 'plantings', 'avenues', 'memorials', 'monuments', 'ceremonies', using the location/site of planting, and events, with limited success. These words were also applied to the newspaper index at the Dunedin City Library. Government archive searches proved more productive when linked to particular events. However, at times this required further lateral thinking; sometimes requiring the knowledge of the names of boards and committees who may have been

responsible for a particular planting. Indications of possible suitable government documentation also came from other sources, such as society or institution minutes.

These searches could be drawn out and time consuming, requiring repeated visits to an archive. A small example of the possible time it could take to locate a newspaper article comes from the search for the report on the planting of the Cedar of Lebanon by the Marchioness of Normanby in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens. The tree still exists and at its base is a metal plate that gives a planting date of circa 1880. In terms of this research this was the first in-depth search of the Christchurch City Library newspaper index in order to locate a known commemorative tree in time or space. Using the many of the key words listed above did not herald anything. The breakthrough came when the name of the planter's husband was looked up. The Marquis of Normanby was the then Governor of New Zealand and he and his wife began a visit to Christchurch at the end of April, 1875. This index reference gave the timeframe in which to look. As it turned out the tree was planted on the 1st of May 1875, not 1880! The report of the tree planting did not appear in the newspaper until ten days after the event. The search, although relatively simple, took over two hours. By comparison many tree planting ceremonies of known dates could be found in a relatively short time. Early in the research process it became apparent that from the difficulties encountered, particularly in locating references to previously unknown trees outside the main themes, it was not going to be within the scope of the research to produce a definitive inventory of trees. This remains an ongoing process, as new sources and means of searching them come to light.

In the course of the research a number of local, nation and overseas archives were visited or contacted about possible sources of information. These are listed in table 4.1. Most archives had something of use. The least useful archives for this study were Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, where very little was identified in a database search, and The Royal Archive, Windsor Castle, Britain, who required dates of plantings and would have only been able to say whether or not they had information on particular occasions on which people knew such a tree was planted. Four types of archival material were used. Each type provided its own degree of success.

1. Newspapers

Newspapers are very good sources of information. However, as McGuinness (1998) has pointed out, they are not unbiased in their production of information. They present a “limited view on reality” and “their partiality was/is colored by the particular outlook and intentions of those in control” (McGuinness, 1998:291). Bearing this in mind, partiality has generally been expressed as support of the sentiment or rhetoric being espoused by the speakers, the amount of importance placed on the event in relation to the size of the article produced and the amount of detail given to one speaker’s address over another’s. Despite the possible issues over editorial bias, the newspaper remains the largest source of material on tree-planting ceremonies.

Table 4.1. Archives visited or contacted in the course of this study.

Archives
New Zealand
Aotearoa Room, Christchurch Public Library
Ashburton Public Library Archives
Archives New Zealand, Christchurch
Archives New Zealand, Dunedin
Archives New Zealand, Wellington
Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
Canterbury Museum, Research Room, Christchurch
Dunedin City Council Archive
Hocken Library, Dunedin
Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury
North Otago Museum
Settlers Museum, Dunedin
South Canterbury Museum
Sumner Museum, Christchurch
Waimate Museum
Waitaki Boys High School
Wairarapa Archive
Australia
Ballarat Mechanics Institute, Ballarat
State Library of South Australia, Adelaide
State Library of Tasmania, Hobart
State Library of Victoria, Melbourne
Britain
Balmoral Castle, Scotland
Hampshire Archive Trust, Winchester
Osborne House, Isle of Wight
The Royal Archive, Windsor Castle

At some locations more than one daily newspaper was published. For example, in Christchurch, Ashburton, Oamaru and Dunedin, there were two principal daily papers. Christchurch and Dunedin also had illustrated papers published weekly. The choice of newspaper for searching was primarily influenced by what was available at the University of Canterbury on film, as indicated above: the *Christchurch Press* and the *ODT* up to about 1900. On location, if no newspaper indexes existed or they were unhelpful, newspapers for which references were already held became the newspaper of choice. At the same time in Ashburton and Oamaru there were no photocopy facilities available. Therefore, all articles had to be written out by hand. This was time consuming and precluded being able to compare articles with the other daily. In Dunedin, advice was sought from staff at the Dunedin Public Library as to which newspapers were likely to cover particular tree planting. When time allowed both daily newspapers were checked for reports on the same event. Differences tended to be in the amount of description dedicated to the story. There was greater possibility of variation between reporting by papers in different locations. The most obvious example found was the coverage of Arbor Day 1900 in Ashburton by the *Press* and the *Ashburton Guardian*. The *Press* said that shops closed and no trees were planted. The *Guardian* described the trees planting events undertaken despite the rain. But such examples were rare.

Coverage of tree-planting ceremonies has changed over time. In the 1860s, accounts of festivals and ceremonies were detailed so as to convey to readers who had not attended the atmosphere and provide mental images through verbal descriptions of the day's events. This is true in the case of the 1863 royal wedding. All aspects of the celebrations were given attention, including the tree-planting ceremonies. Detailed descriptions of important people present, the ceremony, tree species, number of tree, who planted the tree, who spoke and speeches were included. Beyond these large events newspaper coverage became variable. The amount of detail may have been dictated by space availability and level of importance of the event. More space was given to local accounts of commemorative tree-planting than out of town events. Coverage for out of town events was generally short and to the point, with little detail on the planting itself, just indications that a planting took place. This variation in coverage remained the case until the Second World War.

Evident in the articles collected from before and after the Second World War was the apparent lack of a local voice. At times hundreds of local townspeople and others gathered to witness a tree planting. Some participated in the planting, yet no personal comments from individuals - guests, friends, supporters, bereaving mothers, fathers and wives – were recorded. This is in contrast to the official speeches given by officials and dignitaries which were detailed to varying degrees, thus making the official ceremony as the focus of the record.

After the Second World War there was a distinct change in the reporting of tree planting ceremonies. Articles were small with few details or coverage was via a photograph and caption only. Captions, although short, could sometimes convey more specific information than written articles, by naming those in the photograph and sometimes the tree species. By the 1990s there was no consistent coverage of commemorative tree planting in the daily newspaper in Christchurch. Coverage, if any, of the local plantings was reported in weekly community newspapers. Once again there was variation in the amount of detail supplied.

Electronic Newspaper Archives

Papers Past, an electronic searchable database of New Zealand provincial newspapers, has been helpful (<http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/cgi-bin/paperspast>). Over the course of this research Papers Past has evolved. It has not been until relatively recently that the database was searchable. This has made it considerably easier to find articles in a range of provincial newspapers up to about the turn of the twentieth century. The number of searchable South Island newspapers available on this service is limited. However, new papers are being added each year along with further editions of existing newspapers. This will continue to grow and be an even more valuable resource in the future.

The Times Digital Archives – 1775-1985 and The New York Times Digital Archive 1851-2001 are searchable database of newspaper articles. Each provided a wealth of information not only for London and New York respectively, but also for other towns and cities. These archives were valuable resources for locating a wide range of trees planted for a variety of purposes. In particular, they were a good source of articles on

the campaigns promoting the planting of First World War memorial avenues and plantings undertaken as there is no dedicated body of academic literature on memorial avenues in these countries.

2. Council and Organisation Documents

Minutes from meetings of local councils, local organisations and project based committees can provide good sources of information. Some of the more helpful resources have been listed in Table 4.2. Information on trees in the Christchurch City Council archives took the form of files on particular events at which trees were planted and meeting minutes. The most helpful files were those on royal events and Arbor Day and are held by Archives New Zealand, Christchurch. Meeting minutes by themselves can be devoid of specific information. They tend to record resolutions passed and very little on the discussion of issues. However, newspaper reports of the same meetings contain much more detail and information about what was discussed and can be of great help. This is definitely the case with the Fairlie County Council minutes. The Mackenzie District Council holds a scrapbook containing newspaper reports on council meetings. It is still advisable to read the minutes and the newspaper coverage together to catch any information not reported in the newspaper. Council committees can also be a good source of information. In Christchurch, the minutes from the council's Abattoir and Reserves Committee held detailed information on proposed Second World War commemorative tree-planting schemes and the carrying out of the chosen scheme.

Minutes from other committees and organisations were also helpful. Particular planting projects had their own committees whose lifetimes extended from months to years. The minutes of these committees too need to be read in conjunction with newspaper coverage if there was any. Inward and outward correspondence associated with these committees, if available, can assist in identifying local response to the particular projects. Inter-organisational co-operation on projects can mean that there can be useful information in a variety of organisations' records. For example, minutes of the Papanui Beautifying Association and the Papanui Returned Services Association, along with those from the council's Abattoir and Reserves Committee all contribute information on the Papanui Second World War street tree project as a suburban war memorial.

Table 4.4. Useful sources of meeting minutes.

Event	Organisations and Committees	Location
1863 Royal Marriage	Prince of Wales Wedding Celebration Committee	Canterbury Museum, Christchurch
North Otago Memorial Oaks	Committee of the Fallen Soldiers Memorial Oamaru Beautifying Society Waitaki County Council	North Otago Museum, Oamaru
Peace Avenue	Fairlie County Council (The Council holds a scrapbook of newspaper coverage of council meetings)	Mackenzie District Council Office, Fairlie
Second World War Papauni Memorial	Christchurch City Council Abattoir and Reserves Committee	Archive New Zealand, Christchurch
Streets	Papanui Beautifying Association Papanui RSA	Contact association Contact Papauni RSA

3. *War diaries, letters and memoirs*

Diaries and letters of New Zealand First World War soldiers were good sources for understanding the experiences the men had of trees on the battlefield. In the last 10-15 years an increasing number of collections of letters and diary entries have been published in book form. These resources together with war memoirs provided a range of observations on trees in the French countryside, as well as visual, olfactory and combat experience involving the treed landscape of the Western Front. Trees in the landscape were not something that every soldier commented on nor did the topic necessarily appear in indexes of books, so a broad range of material needed to be read to gain a number of different experiences and perspectives. This was a very useful exercise.

4. *Books*

Local histories can also provide additional information on tree-planting. An ever increasing number of histories of districts, communities and schools and local organisation are now available, particularly as many publications are produced for significant anniversaries. These books can vary in their usefulness as tree plantings has not always been considered significant enough events to warrant mention in a book. The lack of indexes in some publications makes navigation through texts time consuming, without any indication of possible success.

The Internet

The internet provides a powerful research tool on almost any subject. As each year passes the internet provides access to an every expanding array of information in various formats, including academic and popular writing. As such it has been a useful tool in locating commemorative trees that would not have been locatable through alternative sources of information. Because of the openness of the internet to numerous authors from a range of backgrounds and pursuits, the quality and reliability of some information posted can be open to question. Without a way of verifying the quality of information a certain amount of faith must be placed in the integrity of the author or authors.

The volume of information attracted by searches for memorial and commemorative trees was overwhelming. Each search attracted hundreds of thousands of hits respectively. Limiting the search by putting single or double speech marks around the search terms reduced the hits from hundreds of thousands to tens of thousands. Dropping the 's' from trees further increased rather than decreased the number of hits. The sheer quantity of irrelevant information, mainly commercial in nature, can be frustrating as pertinent sites are not always obvious. Despite these drawbacks the benefits are numerous with quick easy access to a wide range of information and images.

Websites, as with books and academic articles, have varied in the amount of useful information they offered. Some sites only mentioned the planting of a tree, while others presented the history of the planting. The most useful websites were generally one of three types: central or local government, mainly through reports and agendas for meetings; local histories, many recording the planting of memorial avenues; and sites dedicated to the identification and histories of particular war memorials and memorial avenues. The internet proved especially helpful in the location Australian avenues of honour. Two Australian websites in particular, the Soldiers Walk, focussing on the avenues of honour in Tasmania (www.soldierswalk.org.au) and War Memorials in Australia (www.skp.com.au/memorils2/default.htm) which is a site run by a private individual and covers all types of war memorials throughout Australia, were found to be very helpful due to the scope of the memorials covered and the range of information offered. The internet also provided access to other war memorial

inventories, such as the UK National Inventory of War Memorials (www.ukniwm.org.uk) and the Irish War Memorials Project (IWMP) (www.irishwarmemorials.ie). The Factiva database was useful in locating articles in British and American newspapers on recent references to memorial avenues. Many of these websites have come about in response to the growing interest in local histories, in particular, those surrounding war memorials. This in turn is situated in a world-wide resurgence in memory making. Over the course of the last four years more and more websites pertaining to local histories and war memorials have come on-line, making an increasing amount of information available to a wider public. Because of this continual addition, the databases of commemorative trees constructed for this thesis can only be comprehensive and never definitive.

Evaluation

Based on the general lack of information held by local city councils on the commemorative trees under their jurisdiction, a mixed methods approach was a practical option for conducting this research. The memorial landscape is a relict one, especially when dealing with trees. Therefore, from the outset whatever inventory was produced was not going to be complete. It has only been through the use of a variety of resources at different locations that it has been possible to identify so many trees, including a few lost from the landscape. To undertake this research through archives in the field areas alone would not have been feasible as only a few of the hundreds of trees identified were locatable through these means. This research has highlighted that although commemorative trees are ubiquitous in the landscape there is an overall lack of official information available on their presence in the landscape.

Given the vagaries of the resources available on commemorative trees, the tree inventory of this study is comprehensive and representative of what has been and continues to exist in the landscapes of the field areas of the east coast of the South Island, New Zealand and Melbourne and Ballarat, Victoria, Australia. The contribution of comparative data on incidence and practice from other places, made accessible through the internet as research progressed, has been invaluable in broadening the geographic scope of trends and practices previously thought to be local or regional in nature, thus putting the tree inventory of the field areas into

valuable perspective. As a consequence this comprehensive inventory speaks of multiple places, times, events and people.

From this multitude of information it soon became obvious that the trees were falling into three groups. First, trees planted to commemorate royal events became a repeated theme across most locations. Secondly, there were a large number of trees marking specific occasions and people in particular places; and thirdly there were a variety of war trees planted for both the First and Second World War. Trees from other locations exhibited similar trends. From this, themes around empire, place and war have been explored.

Chapter 5

Landscapes of Empire and Identity

“The various communities in a frontier area sometimes succeeded in blending ethnic traditions, but as often as not they displayed a fierce loyalty to the places they had fled. The very opportunity that frontiers offered people to abandon their old ways often put a premium on maintaining them.” (Cronon, Miles & Gatlin, 1992:19)

Introduction

It has been stated that the memorials of the First World War represented the “first ubiquitous cultural marker in the New Zealand landscape” (Morgan, 2001:82). At the time they were the most conspicuous marker. However, before these markers appeared, hundreds of commemorative trees had been planted for royal occasions throughout the country, each planting anchoring the event as a memory in the landscape. This was not a single occurrence; trees were planted in settler colonies of the British Empire on multiple occasions for marriages, jubilees and coronations, and by royal and vice-regal representatives on tour. The planting of these trees may not have had such a profound visual impact on the landscape as the erection of war memorials; however, they represent some of the earliest forms of commemoration in New Zealand and Australia and were important statements about who the settlers were and where their political and cultural allegiance lay.

Symbolically, these trees were important markers of community sentiment and connection with a physically distant monarch and homeland. They represented a variety of concepts such as Empire, power, loyalty, identity, belonging, and ownership literally planted in the landscape, some of which were more important at certain times. This was particularly so in the earlier years of the settler colonies when isolation from the homeland was at its most extreme. The landscape then became the medium through which the settlers were able to cultivate a “sense of imperial identity” and foster “a feeling of belonging to empire” (Ginn, 2005:68). The trees became an important commemorative device by which the settlers and subsequent generations mapped their tangible and intangible feelings and connections to and with the British monarchy and the British Empire.

Metaphorical ideas of Empire and Crown were best symbolically represented by the oak. It was laden with a raft of traditional symbolic meanings closely linked to and strongly emblematic of Britain’s power and fame, and to what ‘Austral-Briton’ called the oak’s “claims on the patriotic sentiments of Englishmen,” (*The Argus*, 19/5/1863). Drawn from a range of religious, legendary and literary sources, the oak variously symbolized “freedom, strength and refuge”, “longevity and resilience” (Jones & Cloke, 2002:35). Other species, such as cedar and lime, were co-opted into the lexicon of British symbolic tree language. Garnered from all corners of the earth, they were anglicized through propagation, planting and prolonged residency and made quintessentially English. These trees did not hold the same level of symbolic power as the oak nor the link to royalty, making the oak the principal tree of choice for royal events. For many communities in the settler colonies the meanings and symbols of empire and power were also important signifiers of identity and loyalty. For numerous British colonists the “oak [was] the emblem of the nationality” which travelled with them from their country of origin to their new home (*ODT*, 1/7/1863). The commemorative oak, particularly, carried multiple meanings, messages and expectations: it conveyed plural metaphoric concepts of the Crown, the British Empire and Britain and their associative powers; it acted as a mnemonic device reminding inhabitants of these concepts and perhaps more importantly at the local level, the sentiments attached to the event and persons involved; it was to perpetuate that sentiment into the future; and initially, it reinforced British identity and membership in the Empire.

In the New Zealand context, the meanings and symbolism of the commemorative trees planted for royal events were multiple and changed over time along with their value as signifiers. Notions of Empire and power were part of the high diction of the rhetoric surrounding royal events and were implicit in the trees, whether drawn from the traditional symbolism of the oak or through the associations with the event itself. The commemorative landscape produced by these events can be read in these terms. Other readings are also possible, such as the defining of identity and the local level popular understanding of the importance and role of the commemorative tree. This chapter seeks to explore these issues through analysis of tree planting events associated with royal anniversaries, tours and other events.

Royal Associations

By the time of the first royal tour to a British settler colony in 1860, there was a long tradition of celebrating royal events and tours in Britain. The commemorative practices involved were readily transplanted in the settler colonies (Canadine, 2001). From this cultural transference similar festivities linked such royal events across space and time: such as the 1860 British North American tour; the 1863 royal marriage celebrations in New Zealand and Australia; jubilees and coronations; and the royal tours of the twentieth century. Preparation followed similar formats: the declaration of a holiday, newspapers extolling the virtues of the event and calling on all citizenry to participate, the public meeting and formation of a planning committee (Ryan, 1990). The declaring of public holidays opened the festivities and tours to anyone “prepared to proclaim their loyalty to the monarchy” (Buckner, 2006:31). Participation implied acceptance of the hegemony represented by the Crown and the empire.

Commemorative trees provide physical markers linking these events and disparate locations. Tree planting was part of the nineteenth century ceremonial and commemorative repertoire. The *ODT* claimed that Queen Victoria was planting memorial and commemorative trees as early as 1832 (*ODT*, 15/12/1898). As an example of the transferability of this commemorative repertoire, the planting of two oak trees in the newly renamed Prince’s Square in Launceston, Tasmania, can be used. The Mayor, in his speech, reflected on the appropriate nature of planting commemorative trees, as having found “that at home [Britain], one chief part of the

ceremony we are this day engaged in performing, has been to plant two trees as a memorial to the marriage of His Royal Highness and to name them after His Royal Highness and His Royal Consort. In this respect we are to follow that example” (*Cornwall Chronicle*, 23/5/1863). Trees were also planted in Hobart. Local newspaper coverage was very detailed except for the tree-planting ceremony. In this regard the reporter described the Governor as having gone “through the observances prescribed for such an occasion”, referring to a “formula” for the event (*The Mercury*, 22/5/1863). This implied that the readers were sufficiently familiar with the practice as not to require a detailed description. Commemorative tree-planting in Hobart was either common place or many of the inhabitants were familiar with the practice in Britain before travelling to the colonies.

“Catch[ing] the Echoes” (ODT, 1/7.1863): Celebrating the 1863 royal wedding

The celebration of the first major royal event since the establishment of many of the young cities and towns of the settler colonies was set against an ever changing background of peace and conflict, success and failure, affluence and poverty, pioneering conditions and survival. In New Zealand, the celebrations were set within the context of conflict between British troops and local militia, and Māori in the North Island, a gold rush in the South Island and popular discontent with the relationship with the British Government. Sinclair (1986) tells of the antagonistic relationship that existed during the 1860s. A range of colonial policy decisions and critical comments made by the British Government were read by New Zealand colonists as unsupportive of the new colony and its domestic issues: such as the withdrawal of British troops compromising colonists’ security; failure to act as guarantor for a loan to help ensure the colony’s internal security; and criticisms of domestic legislative decisions underscored constitutional responsibility issues within New Zealand. These moves and others contributed to a wide-spread opinion that the British Government was attempting to drive New Zealand out of the Empire. This drew calls for the separation of New Zealand from Britain or possible American annexation of the colony (Sinclair, 1986). Popular discussion on separation was further fuelled by articles in public journals and newspapers (*ODT*, 23/5/1863). Despite the fluid nature of colonial life the marriage of the heir to the British Crown was celebrated with enthusiasm and exuberance. The popularity of the events celebrating the royal marriage and the 1869

visit of the Duke of Edinburgh belied local disquiet, graphically illustrating that settler sentiments lay with the Crown and Empire and not with British Government and British rule (Bassett, 1987).

On 10 March 1863, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales and Princess Alexandra of Denmark were married at Windsor. The wedding of the heir to the British throne was of great significance for the royal family, Britain as a nation and the Empire. Succession was assured with Albert Edward, and the Prince's marriage brought about the prospect of further heirs and the continuation of order. News of the event reverberated around the Empire as details of the wedding and associated social events were dispatched by sailing ships to be disseminated through British settler communities. Neither time nor distance diminished the enthusiasm with which communities in the colonies received the news and celebrated the event. The spirit of this was expressed in the *New Zealander* (26/5/1863):

... And not in England alone will they find responsive echo, but throughout every colony and possession of that mighty empire upon which the sun never sets. Though we cannot participate in the glorious spectacle that has evoked such triumphant joy throughout the length and breadth of our fatherland, we can fully appreciate and heartily share in the interest of the happy event. Distance neither dulls nor dims out loyalty or our love; and with the truest sincerity we pray that health, happiness and honour may be the inseparable attendants of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

For many communities across the Empire, this was the first opportunity to celebrate a major royal event. Through this event they were able to publicly express their allegiance, loyalty and their "Britishness" to the head of the Empire.

News of the royal wedding reached Australia just two months after the event and several weeks in advance of New Zealand. Australian colonial governors were prompt in declaring public holidays, in many cases leaving timeframes of as little as seven to ten days for preparations of entertainments. By the time the first English newspapers were reaching New Zealand, Australian newspapers were detailing preparations being undertaken in their colonial capitals. Newspapers and letters from Sydney and Melbourne described extravagant and expensive preparations for processions, feasts, fireworks and elaborate illuminations. Communities wishing to permanently memorialise the event on the day had few commemorative choices due to the restricted timeframe, making the commemorative tree a popular choice, as was

the case of Victoria and Tasmania (*The Age*, 20/5/1863; *The Argus*, 20/5/1863, 21/5/1863; *The Mercury*, 22/5/1863; *Cornwall Chronicle*, 23/5/1863; Schneider, 1998).

News confirming the royal wedding was received with great enthusiasm in New Zealand, as it had been in Australia. The expression of loyal sentiment for the Queen and her family found greater support amongst the general population than with some of the provincial leaders, bringing with it particular expectations about the appropriate manner in which the event would be celebrated. The Governor of New Zealand failed to declare a colony-wide public holiday, thus no single day unified the colonists of New Zealand in country-wide celebrations. Each province was left to designate its own day and make appropriate arrangements. City and provincial newspapers of the day indicate that numerous celebrations were held in diverse locations in various provinces. The Superintendent of Auckland, Robert Graham, was petitioned to declare a public holiday. His personal lack of interest was evident in the holiday declaration: “it has been represented to me that a general desire is felt by the inhabitants of this Province to shew [sic] their loyalty ...” (*The New Zealander*, 24/6/1863). Financial constraints meant that no provincial funds were available for contributing to celebratory costs (*The New Zealander*, 26/6/1863). Despite having to raise money by subscription to pay for festivities, a committee was able to organise a parade, a dinner for the troops, Militia and Volunteers, games and amusements, a children’s feast, bonfires, fireworks, and free and subscribed concerts and balls.

Canterbury had its own problems at the heart of which was an appropriate choice of day. Superintendent Samuel Bealey was very prompt in announcing a public holiday for the province, but his lack of consultation culminated in the province “celebrating” the royal marriage twice. Bealey also lacked foresight into public feeling and expectations in the celebration of this event. On Friday 21 May, the superintendent declared Tuesday 25th May a public holiday for the celebration of the royal wedding. Monday, being Queen’s birthday, was already a public holiday. With no time to plan any celebratory activities, little in the way of public festivities were observed. This move did not correspond with the community’s expectations after months of anticipation. *The Press* newspaper editorial staff was highly critical of the superintendent’s leadership in this matter:

A public notice has been issued by order of the Superintendent appointing a holiday to-morrow to commemorate the Prince of Wales' marriage. The step is so illjudged we are inclined to treat it as a hoax. Without notice, without preparation, without turn for communication to all parts of the province, how is a holiday to be kept worthy of such an occasion? The Queen's birthday is ill enough kept. We might fairly expect the head of the Government to assume the position of the head of society, and set the example of some formal recognition of the day on which loyalty loves to display itself. ...

If the Government idea of a commemoration is a day of idleness ending at the beerhouse, we hope there is a different spirit among the people. We have said nothing before, waiting for the Government to give the sign, but we were not prepared for anything so simply snobbish as this (*The Press*, 25/5/1863).

The mood had not improved greatly after the public holidays were over:

Two dreary days of abstinence as well from business as from pleasure, two holidays devoted to external humiliation and general glumness, is an event too remarkable in the history of a rational people to be lightly passed over. ... These two days tell a tale or afford an index to the growth of character in the people amongst whom we live (*The Press*, 28/5/1863).

Further compounding this disaffection was the two days pay lost by the workers whose workplaces closed for the two public holidays.

The situation was rectified two weeks later when the Provincial Secretary Office wrote to the Christchurch City Council informing them of the Government's grant of £150 towards the celebrating of the royal marriage on a day to be determined by the Council in consultation with the Lyttelton Municipal Council (CCC Inward Letters 1863a; *The Press*, 11/6/1863). Dates were set for 7th July for Lyttelton and 9th July in Christchurch so that the inhabitants of each centre could attend both celebrations if wished (CCC Inward Letters 1863c). The Christchurch City Council voted a sum of £300 to aid the grant of the Provincial Government (CCC Outward Letters 1863a). The Prince of Wales Wedding Celebrations Committee met on 10 June to begin preparations for the festivities. From this meeting it was resolved "That a procession [sic] be formed to proceed to the entrance of the city, by the Ferry road, where the first two trees of the plantation along the Town Belt be planted in commemoration of the marriage". The site is illustrated in Figure 5.1. Also planned were rural sports, a children's feast and entertainment, Maori entertainment (a feast for prominent Maori of the area), fireworks and illuminations (Prince of Wales Committee, 1863a; *The Press*, 11/6/1863). Tree planting was to represent the official commemorative

function for the festivities, with the role of the trees being to perpetuate memory of and sentiment for the event and the day.

On the day residents gathered at Papanui to form a procession three quarters of a mile long, with the trees in place of honour. The procession travelled through the centre of town to Ferry Road where the trees were planted by the wives and daughters of prominent Christchurch men and named by the Superintendent and Mr Olliver. In the Superintendent's speech he compared the empire and its slow growth with that of the oaks, weathering the good and the bad and accruing the benefits now shared. However, the theme of the speech was loyalty, tailored to counter recent public discussion on possible separation from British governance. The Superintendent emphasised that

[w]ith rare exceptions the English people have been distinguished by a deep and fervent loyalty. Even under very severe trials that feeling has maintained itself so that loyalty may truly be said to be characteristic of our nation; how desperate then should we be were we to vary from this state of feeling.... For it would be a great and fearful loss to the generations to come were the kindly tie which binds us to the Mother Country to be at any time severed" (*The Press*, 11/7/1863).

With this ongoing public debate it was clear that sentiment felt for the Crown and Empire was not extended to the British Government. Despite the rhetoric, the tree planting fulfilled a simple function of marking the day and the event.

These sentiments were echoed at another tree-planting ceremony at the site for the new high school opposite Hagley Park (Figure 5.1). Two trees were planted by Mrs Jane Deans, wife of the first European settler on the Canterbury Plains, and Mrs Fraser, the wife of Rev Fraser, of St Andrew's church, and subsequently named the "Albert Edward Oak" and the "Princess Alexandra Oak" after the royal couple. Dr Turnbull, secretary of the Directors of the Boys' Academy, in his address to the assembled pupils and adults, spoke of the sentiment that led to the celebration of the day (*Lyttelton Times*, 15/7/1863; Amodeo, 2006). He considered the efforts taken to celebrate the royal wedding reflected the "anxious desire that the rising generation might continue to share the benefits of British Constitutional Government, and cherish a spirit of fervent loyalty to a Royal house". For present and future pupils of the new school the trees were to be "a souvenir of the loyalty of their fathers" and of an

important day in the history of “their country” (*Lyttelton Times*, 15/7/1863). A third planting of trees was undertaken at the Government Domain, later the Botanic Gardens, of which the Edward Albert Oak still survives (Figure 5.2).

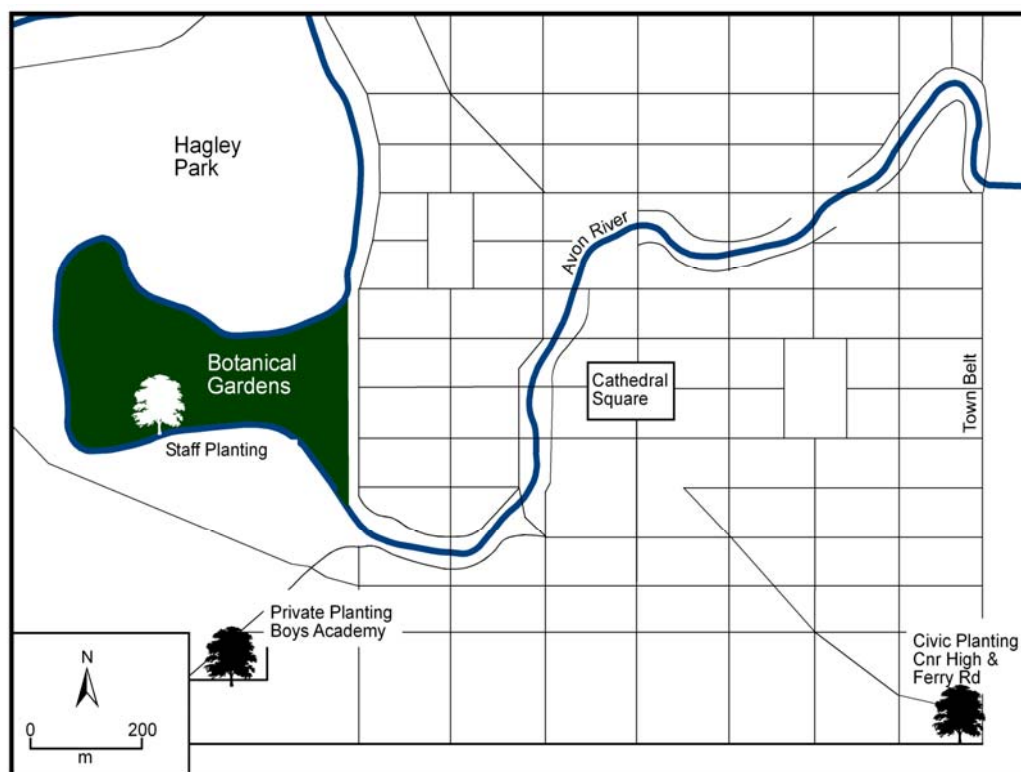


Figure 5.1. The location of the trees planted in Christchurch on 9 July 1863 to celebrate the royal wedding.

Dunedin did not suffer the problems experienced by either Christchurch or Auckland. Mr Jonathon Hyde Harris, Esq., Superintendent of Otago, waited on the Governor’s failure to declare a colony-wide holiday for four weeks before declaring Tuesday, 30 June, Otago’s day of celebration (*ODT*, 27/5/1863; 12/6/1863). By this time Southland had had its celebrations and Christchurch its “holiday” (*ODT*, 10/6/1863). A public meeting was held on 23 June, a week before the intended celebrations and a committee formed to prepare for the festivities. Preparations were intensive. Funding included £500 from the Provincial Government and subscriptions raised. Editorial comments in the *ODT* concisely summed up the significance of the holiday for the province as “afford[ing] a proof of our thorough identification of feeling with the national sentiment of attachment to the throne, the institutions, the fatherland, we have left far behind us, but have never ceased to remember and to love” (*ODT*,

25/6/1863). This was manifest in the choice of oak trees for recording the sentiment for the day.



Figure 5.2. The Albert Edward Oak in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens.

On Tuesday 30 June a three-quarter mile long procession weaved its way through the streets of Dunedin to assemble at the Botanic Garden Reserve to witness the official ceremony of the day. The address to the Queen from the people of Dunedin expressing loyalty and congratulations was presented to the Superintendent. Following his reply, the Superintendent moved to plant the memorial oaks, in doing

so reminding his audience that it was their responsibility to ensure the trees safety. Three cheers were given for the royal oaks, the anthem sung and the trees ceremoniously named. These celebrations and speeches varied little in sentiment from other places. *ODT* editorial commentary illustrated the commonality of festivities between New Zealand and Australia by drawing on the traditional context of such celebrations, ceremonially linking the colonies with Great Britain through the successful transference of cultural practices to the colonies. In spite of Dunedin's geographic distance from Britain and the use of non-customary local flora as decoration, Dunedin's festivities followed the "ancient ways", the traditions of "home":

... We have walked in procession; we have feasted and toasted the Queen, her son, and the new daughter of England; we have provided treats for the children, and free banquets for such as chose to come and partake. We have made or listened to eloquent speeches and indulged in loud peals of huzzahs; we have fired *feux de joie*, put up triumphal arches, and waved many-coloured banners.

And in planting commemorative trees

we have chosen as the memorial trees to render perpetual the expression of the sentiments that moved us yesterday to this unwonted display – the old traditional oak of the fatherland (*ODT*, 1 July 1863).

From this commentary and the comments of the Mayor of Launceston about following examples from "Home", it can be seen that the manner of celebration and tree planting was not a peculiarity of the colonies. That this reflects a wider practice is shown by an example from Darlington, Britain, where two *Wellingtonia gigantea* (*Sequoiadendron giganteum*) trees were planted in South Park as part of their royal wedding celebrations (www.northeasthistory.co.uk).

This discussion has highlighted the main events recognizable in the description of festivities in Auckland, Christchurch, Hobart, Launceston, Melbourne and numerous other towns across Australia and New Zealand. The development of settlement, decades long in Australia, had not seen the development of colonial based alternative modes of commemoration. This reinforces the comments of both Mountfort (Lochhead, 1999) and Cronon, Miles & Gatlin (1992) that even as migration and settlement in a new land opened up many possibilities for breaking with the old ways and starting new traditions and the reinvention of oneself, distance from home acted

to reinforce identity with the home country. The celebration of the royal marriage exemplified the success of the transference of festival practices from Britain. Strong feelings of identification with and belonging to the British Empire, and not with the British Government, found resonance in the performance and spectacle of traditional celebratory practices and displays of patriotic fervour. This shows another layer of complexity in the settler/metropole relationship.

Royal Tours

Geographic distance from the centre of the Empire meant that royal tours to the settler colonies were protracted events and, until the 1920s, relatively rare. As a result physical mementoes of the tours were important. Many of the events on the tour itinerary were ephemeral acts of show and display which left no lasting mark in the landscape. The laying of foundation stones and opening of buildings and dedication of bridges said more of the progress of the community and country into the future. The planting of commemorative trees in remembrance of the royal representative's visit physically anchored the Crown and Empire to the land in a way that arboreal markers celebrating other royal events could not. Such trees were also symbolically loaded with dual claims of identity, loyalty and ownership, from the person planting the tree and the people accepting it. The royal tour offered important opportunities for both the metropolitan centre and the colonial edge to acknowledge the plural nature of their relationship, via Crown and Empire at the colonial edge.

Antecedents of the royal tours were laid in the first official tour to a settler colony. Royal tours were multi-purpose propaganda progresses. They provided opportunities to advance and reaffirm allegiances, with both the Crown and the Empire at the forefront of public attention, affection and memory making. Administrations of both Britain and the host country held particular expectations of specific outcomes and benefits of the tours, most being achieved through meticulous planning and preparation. The tours of 1860, 1901 and 1920 to the colonies by the heirs apparent to the British throne were ostensibly framed as tours of gratitude from the Crown for contributions made to recent wars, a reward for past loyalty (Fewster, 1980; Bassett, 1987). According to Buckner (2006) the 1860 tour of eastern British North America was in recognition of the regiment raised and sent for military service in the Crimean

War and came after a number of requests submitted during the 1850s (Radforth, 2004). The 1901 tour was undertaken during the middle of the South African War and the colonies were thanked for troops supplied (Bassett, 1987). In turn the 1920 Prince of Wales tour was in recognition of the service and sacrifice of the colonial soldiers during the First World War (Fewster, 1980). Underlying these rewards for service were more purposive grounds for the tours. The 1860 tour to British North America was the first official tour to a colony and the first undertaken by the heir to the British throne. The level of popular reception for the Prince was unknown. The tour, then, offered the first opportunity to gauge royal popularity in a settler colony (Radford, 2004). With the success of this tour subsequent tours to British North America (Canada after 1867) and beyond promoted the intensification of such loyal sentiment to the Crown and the Empire. This promotion of loyalty was the fundamental “imperial task” of every royal visit (Bassett, 1987:134).

The British Government found the royal tour a convenient vehicle for instilling loyalty in the Empire through the Crown. At the same time, local communities of the host countries used the same vehicle to express and communicate their loyalty to the Crown through the person of the royal representative to the monarch. That expression was enthusiastic, since, as Coates (2006) points out, the royal tour offered many people their only personal experience of royalty owing to geographic distance from the seat of the monarch. For many the demonstration of loyalty was an expression of identity as numerous British settlers and those of British descent expressed their loyalty through the reaffirmation of their Britishness (Canadine, 2001; Buckner & Bridge, 2003; Buckner, 2006). Initially the settlers identified with Britain. Over time they came to identify with their new home in a hybridised identity through the blending of plural identities. This was expressed, for example, as British Canadians or British New Zealanders, and was a stage in the eventual development of a national identity distinguishable from Britain (Sinclair, 1986). For the host countries the tours were opportunities to express their pride in the advancements they had made and modernisation achieved since official settlement of the land was undertaken as well as highlighting their differentiation from other colonies (Bassett, 1987; Buckner, 2003). This was particularly evident during the 1901 tour of the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall. New Zealand at this point in time had only sixty years of official settler history.

The planting of trees was a modest part of most overseas royal tours and became more common in the twentieth century. In Britain, by the time of the 1860 tour, members of the royal family had for a number of years been involved in planting commemorative trees for a range of public and private occasions (for example see *The Times* 19/6/1858). This tradition was adapted for local conditions in the colonies as either official events or on-site requests. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales planted a number of trees during his 1860 American tour. In Toronto, the Prince attended the opening of the new Horticultural Garden. The occasion was commemorated by the planting of two trees: the Prince planted a maple while Mrs Allen, the wife of the Horticultural Society president, planted an oak (<http://collections.ic.gc.ca>). From Canada, the Prince entered the United States for a month long private visit under the name of “Baron [Lord] Renfrew” (*New York Times*, 22/9/1860; Colimore, 2007). This visit was important as it was the first time a member of the Royal Family had set foot on American soil since the War of Independence (*New York Times*, 22/9/1860, 11/10/1860). In New York City the Prince planted two trees in the Mall, Central Park, one an oak, the other an American elm (*New York Times*, 12/10/1860; 6/9/1908). During a visit to Mount Vernon, home of George Washington, the Prince planted a chestnut tree near Washington’s grave. This act was deemed to be of great significance by some (Prochaska, 2005). The tree was planted on “sacred” ground and showed a mark of respect to Washington and the nation that had not necessarily been extended before, especially by the Crown (Prochaska, 2005; www.virtualmuseum.ca). The success of this tour assured further royal tours. In between these tours, vice-regal representatives provided an embodied link between the colony and the Crown and planters of commemorative trees

The 1901 Royal Tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.

The 1901 royal tour offers a contrast to previous and subsequent visits by royalty in that it left little in the way of an arboreal legacy commemorating the visit, particularly in New Zealand. The only previous royal tour, and New Zealand’s first, was undertaken by Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh in 1869. The Duke was to have visited New Zealand the previous year after touring Australia. This section of the tour was postponed after the shooting of the Duke in a park in Clontarf, Sydney, on 12 March, 1868, by an Irishman. His wound, although deemed serious, healed quickly. By the end of March the Duke had completely recovered by the end of March and

subsequently set sail for England in June (Gibbney, 1972). The Duke returned to the South Pacific in 1869 as captain of the navy ship the *Galatea* on a two year cruise, arriving in Auckland on 11 April (Evening Post, 10/12/1868; Loughnan, 1902). In comparison with the 1901 and 1920 tour, the Duke was a prolific tree-planter, planting nine trees, both exotic and native, during his three week visit; four trees were planted in the grounds of Government House in Wellington (Loughnan, 1902) and five in the Botanic Gardens in Christchurch (*The Press*, 26/04/1869). For the colonies then, the 1901 royal tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York presented an opportunity for the next royal generation to add their arboreal marker to the landscape.

The HMS ‘Ophir’ left Portsmouth, England, on 16 March 1901, to commence an extensive, extended tour of the settler colonies of Australia (6 May – 6 June, 2 – 26 July), New Zealand (11 – 27 June), South Africa (13 – 23 August) and Canada (15 Sept – 25 Oct). On the way to the Pacific the royal couple briefly visited Gibraltar, Malta, Port Said, Colombo and Singapore, while on the return journey they visited Mauritius and St Vincent (Price, 1980). This was the first tour to be undertaken by the heir apparent and his consort. The royal visitors were enthusiastically received wherever they went in the colonies (Bassett, 1987; Buckner, 2003). Thousands of people gathered in the cities to welcome the royal couple. In New Zealand the publishing of the timetables of the royal trains enabled the residents of small and large towns alike to gather at the railway stations to cheer as the train went through and in hope of catching a glimpse of the Duke and Duchess (Loughnan, 1902). It had been thirty-two years since the last tour to New Zealand and Premier Seddon, in reciting the ministerial address to the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, wished to assure the royal couple of the “continued attachment and devotion of the people of the land of the Moa and Pounamu to His gracious Majesty the king, and his Royal house, and of their unflinching loyalty to the Throne and Constitution under which they have received the great and lasting benefits they now enjoy” (in Loughnan, 1902:16). The exhibition of loyal sentiments, conveyed by large crowds, enthusiastic receptions, numerous patriotic speeches and elaborate decorations and festivities, was well manifest throughout New Zealand and Australia; however the commemorative legacy of the tour was not established in trees.

There is sparse information available on trees planted by the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall. Official tree planting ceremonies were not part of the official programme published before the tour in either New Zealand or Australia (Anon, 1901a; Anon, 1901b). Nonetheless, the royal couple did consent to plant commemorative trees, in which little ceremony was involved. The Royal Botanic Gardens Melbourne, Australia, boasts two such trees planted by both the Duke and Duchess. The plaques at the base of the trees indicate that they were planted on separate occasions several days apart. On the day the Duchess planted her tree there was no newspaper coverage of the event in either *The Argus* or *The Age*, while there was full coverage of the Duke's activities. The planting of the Duke's tree five days later only attracted a single line entry in the account of his activities of the day. Although there was interest in everything the royal visitors did, some activities drew greater press coverage than others: those of the Duke's over the Duchess and events for people over tree-planting.

Tree-plantings were then localised initiatives. In such circumstances the royal couple may or may not have received a request for consent to plant a tree prior to the event. When faced with an unanticipated appeal to acquiesce to a request of tree-planting at a location, the royal couple may have felt unable to refuse with the tree and a hole in the ground in clear sight. In Ballarat, Australia, a local councillor presented a late appeal to the royal couple to plant pines as commemorative trees. This was undertaken with enthusiasm, according to a newspaper reporter, in sight of the trees planted by the Duke and in his brother in 1881, who had visited Australia as part of the crew of the ship *Bacchante* (*The Argus*, 14/5/1901; Loughnan, 1902). It was not reported as to the royal response to this impromptu request once out of the public gaze. Another impromptu planting was held at Kilmany Park, Victoria, Australia, a property owned by Mr Pearson, where the Duke and retinue had gone on a shooting party. The Duke consented to Mr Pearson's request to plant a tree and duly planted a small bush in the garden (*The Argus*, 16/5/1901). It appears that few other communities were willing to test the affability of the Duke to planting commemorative trees

This was even more so in New Zealand. In comparison to the Victorian experience, any commemorative trees planted in the South Island of New Zealand were only done

so after the couple left the area or the country. The issue of tree planting was raised in Christchurch through *The Press* newspaper. Drawing on the Ballarat experience the suggestion was made that it was not yet too late to request the planting of a commemorative tree in the city (*The Press*, 21/6/1901). Whether a request was made of the royal couple or not, no tree was planted by the couple during their visit. Undeterred, the visit was commemorated by the planting of a linden or lime tree by an unnamed well-known citizen (*The Press*, 10/11/1926). Further south, three weeks after the departure of the royal visitors, a group of notable citizens gathered for the ceremony in the Dunedin Botanic Gardens to plant two young trees grown from acorns of the 1863 oak commemorating the marriage of the Duke's parents. The mayor, in his speech, spoke of the relationship between the saplings and the parent tree and hoped that in the future the trees would present an interesting reminder of the royal visit (*ODT*, 18/7/1901). This ceremony was not infused with the rhetoric of loyalty and Empire that characterised the language of the tour itself. These trees were first and foremost a reminder of the visit planted by a loyal group of citizens; the presence of the tree itself representing an overt symbol of loyalty to the Crown and Empire.

It is difficult to ascertain if planting of commemorative trees had any part in the original planning of this royal tour. As indicated above, tree-planting was not included in officially published tour programmes. Each host country was responsible for the itinerary of their segment of the tour. The initial intention, then, to include or exclude tree-planting within any proposed itinerary was made at various levels of local, state and national government. The proposed itineraries were then submitted to the Duke who, with members of his staff, examined, approved, modified or declined proposals (Buckner, 2003). Buckner (2003) describes the role of the Duke's staff as being to limit the number of engagements attended by the Duke as much as possible. Commemorative tree-planting, if mentioned, may have been one such activity that was removed. Ultimately, with so few arboreal markers from the tour, physical evidence in the landscape of commemorative activities undertaken by the royal couple was revealed through numerous foundation stones laid by the Duke.

The 1920 Royal tour of Edward Albert, Prince of Wales.

The 1920 royal tour of New Zealand and Australia was one of a series of tours undertaken by prominent empire men in the years immediately following the First World War. Viscount Jellicoe and General Birdwood both toured Australasia in 1919 and early 1920 respectively. The Prince of Wales toured Canada in 1919 before making a royal progress to the South Pacific in 1920. The function of these tours was to keep the Empire at the forefront of political and social aspirations. The multi-purpose nature of the royal tour was evident. Framed as a tour in gratitude of sacrifices made in the war on behalf of the Empire, the Prince, years later, described his primary role on tour as “remind[ing] my father’s subjects of the kindly benefits attaching to the ties of Empire”. The Prince’s message reinforced loyalty and individuality within unity: “I come to you as the King’s eldest son, as heir to the throne that stands for a heritage of common aims and ideals – that provides the connecting link of a commonwealth whose members are free to develop each on its own lines but all to work together as one ...” (Duke of Windsor, 1951:152). To avoid any confrontation areas of anti-royalist sentiments were excluded from the itinerary. This was evident in Australia with the by passing of Broken River, Burnie and Devonport (Fewster, 1980). While the principal destination for the tour was New Zealand and Australia, the Duke also made official visits to San Diego, California, the Hawaiian Islands, Barbados, Fiji, Samoa, Mexico, Panama, Trinidad, British Guiana, St Lucia, Grenada, Dominica and Montserrat (Hibbert, 1972; Donaldson, 1974), where similar messages of gratitude, Empire and loyalty were delivered at other outposts of the Empire.

Official tour programmes of both New Zealand and Australia indicate that, at the time of publication, only one tree-planting ceremony was part of the Duke’s official duties (Anon 1920a; Anon 1920b; Scolefield, 1926). A royal oak was to be planted in Victoria Park, Greymouth, New Zealand, in remembrance of the Duke’s visit. However, it is known through Scolefield’s (1926) account of the New Zealand tour that the Prince planted a further three trees commemorating his visit, all at South Island sites: College grounds, Blenheim; Waitaki Boy High School grounds, Oamaru and the Botanic Gardens in Christchurch. Little information on the plantings or associated ceremonies was supplied by Scolefield. Lord Louis Mountbatten (1987), who accompanied the Prince on the tour, wrote on the planting at the Christchurch

Botanic Gardens as being one of the most satisfying that the Prince had done. This planting, a native kauri tree, differed to most others as the Prince and his companions arrived at dusk at the Gardens unfettered by followers. There were no crowds, no speeches and no ceremony. Nor were there any implements for planting the tree as the Curator, Mr Young, had rushed to unlock the gate on receiving word that the Prince was on his way (*The Press*, 17/5/1920).

In commemorative tree terms this tour was more productive than the 1901 tour. As with the 1901 tour the unofficial nature of such plantings dominates. With so little information about trees planted across Australia and in other settler colonies, it is difficult to ascertain if the pattern of tree planting seen in New Zealand is unique or common to all. These particular royal tours did not leave a trail of commemorative arboreal markers of their visit across the country. However, they were supported by numerous vice-regal visits that culminated with tree-plantings at many locations. Most New Zealand Governors and Governors-General toured the country at least once during their term of office. It was the local celebration of important imperial events such as jubilees and coronations that prolific planting of commemorative trees was undertaken.

Multiple events, multiple plantings – Coronations and Jubilees

Interspersed between the royal tours were other important imperial celebrations. Of greatest significance were jubilees of the royal reign and coronations where the Empire celebrated as a single institution. Since the 1860s a revolution in Empire and global communication had taken place. The introduction of the electric telegraph, transoceanic telegraph cables and new press agencies associated with the new technologies allowed for the rapid dissemination of information and news within and between countries (Pawson & Quigley, 1982). This facilitated the single calendar day celebration, firstly of the Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee (1887), followed by the Queen's Diamond Jubilee (1897), the coronations of Edward VII, George V and George VI and the Silver Jubilee of George V's reign across the Empire whereby disparate communities were joined in celebration. Such events presented further opportunities for individuals, groups, societies and institutions to express their loyalty and emphasise connections to and with the British Empire. As a commemorative

marker, tree-planting became an entrenched tradition that grew in popularity, reaching its peak in New Zealand during the 1930s, by which time there were subtle shifts in meaning and symbolic value.

In many places the celebrations of royal jubilees and coronations were just as spectacular as those for the 1863 royal wedding. The processions, sports entertainments, feasting, illuminations and decorations of 1863 were repeated with equal amounts of enthusiasm and greater elaboration. In New Zealand the careful planning of the celebrations and enthusiastic community participation belied the controversies over costs and ability to participate. In an argument over the financing of celebration for the Queen's Jubilee in 1887, the ratepayers of Richmond (Christchurch) sought an injunction from the Supreme Court to prevent their Town Council from spending money on festivities (*The Press*, 21/5/1887). The ability to participate in the festivities arranged by and for communities was at the discretion of employers. Central government announced the days designated for the celebration of the royal jubilees and coronations, and declared public holidays for its own employees, not for all inhabitants. Where appropriate the local mayor declared the proposed day a public holiday and requested employers to close their businesses for the day or half-day. Consequently, employers decided if their employees were allowed a holiday, whether it was a full or half day, and if they were paid (*Evening Post*, 16/6/1911). These issues were still unresolved the week before the coronation of George VI on 12 May 1937 (*The Press*, 4/6/1937).

At each subsequent royal celebration an increasing number of communities planted or sponsored the planting of trees in a greater range of locations. A growing range of groups, societies and institutions also took up the opportunity to express their loyalty and planted trees. As with the 1863 celebrations, trees were planted in squares, parks, domains, botanic gardens and reserves. Trees were also planted in hospital and church grounds. School grounds became increasingly popular for ceremonies and plantings. In many rural areas the school grounds were the centre for festivities and the site of commemoration for the whole community. By the 1930s more trees were being planted in school grounds for the Silver Jubilee of George V's reign and the coronation of George VI than in any public space. The Education Board offered a special grant to school to help with the cost of celebrating the 1935 royal jubilee,

which could be utilised for the purchase of trees (*The Press*, 8/5/1935). In 1937 it was reported that at least forty coronation trees were planted at various schools in Christchurch (*The Press*, 11/5/1937). Newspaper coverage of royal celebrations in and around Melbourne, Australia, in the *Age* and the *Argus* did not indicate a similar trend in school ground plantings.

As locations diversified so did the form of tree-plantings and the species of tree planted. The most common tree-planting form was the single or paired trees, the paired trees being the more popular for coronations where trees were planted named to honour both the king and queen. From 1897 larger plantings in the form of avenues, groves and circles became evident. In Dunedin, a grove of fifteen oaks commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign, and named the "Victoria Grove" was planted in Jubilee Park where an oak had been planted for the 1887 jubilee (*ODT*, 23/6/1897). The community of St Andrews, South Canterbury, New Zealand, named their domain the Victoria Park and school children planted a ring of twenty-six oaks called the "Record Reign Circle" (*Timaru Herald*, 25/6/1897), illustrated in Figure 5.3. The first two trees of a coronation avenue commemorating the crowning of George V were planted in the Halswell Domain. At a broader scale New Zealand participated in a trans-empire tree-planting project which originated in Britain to commemorate the coronation of George VI in 1937. According to a draft press release dated November 1936 "under a scheme inaugurated by the Automobile Association of Great Britain acorns have been specially harvested from the Royal Park at Windsor in order that a widespread and lasting memorial may be raised throughout the Empire in "British Oak"". The acorns were to be supplied free of charge. Correspondence was received from as far afield as America, Barbados, Australia and New Zealand (Automobile Association of Great Britain, 1936). Acorns were obtained by the New Zealand Automobile Association and distributed around the country. Those received by the Christchurch branch were raised and finally planted in August 1946 (*The Press*, 16/8/1946). In one instance trees from some of the acorns were thought to have been planted for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953 (A Wisden, pers. comm). The associations of these trees were perhaps less likely to be well marked than earlier ones due to the delay in their planting relative to the 1937 coronation. Newspaper coverage of the Christchurch planting gives no indication as to their marking.



Figure 5.3. The “Record Reign Circle” in the St Andrews’ Domain, South Canterbury, New Zealand, celebrating the 60th jubilee of Queen Victoria. Of the 26 trees originally planted, nine trees appear to remain.

The dominant tree species remained the Oak. The symbolic tradition and association with the monarchy made the oak the most symbolically appropriate choice. However, in New Zealand from 1887 onwards, other species were also planted. Though not common, such species as giant redwood, sycamore, fir, copper beech and native birch were used. By the 1930s the range of tree species had expanded even further as can be seen in Table 5.1. The extent of the use of alternative trees species can not be truly assessed due to the reporting methods of the times. Newspaper coverage from 1887 onwards varied with an increasing number of reporters simplifying their accounts by reducing the level of detail. Those economic with words passed the ceremony off as “tree-planting and speechifying” (*ODT*, 23/6/1887) as in the case of celebrations at Queenstown, New Zealand, or simply stated that a tree was planted. With the increasing diversity in tree species used less emphasis was placed on empire/Crown symbolism and more emphasis on the mnemonic role of the tree in perpetuating the sentiment of the day. Thus the rhetoric of speakers was the vehicle for the framing of empire and power.

Table 5.1. Trees planted in Canterbury for 1935 Silver Jubilee of George V's reign and the 1937 coronation of George VI as reported in *The Press* newspaper, Christchurch.

1935	1937
Italian Cypress	Olearia
Elm	Plane
Chestnut	Lime
American Oak	Silver birch
Californian redwood	Weeping elm
Totara	Golden Oak
Pohutakawa	Walnut
Native trees	Kowhai
	Native beech
	Native trees

At the same time there was growing competition in the choice of permanent commemorative markers. An expanding range of options were considered by various communities. For example, the organising committee of the Golden Jubilee celebrations in Ashburton received a number of ideas, of both aesthetic and functional forms, from the inhabitants: jubilee clock, ornamental fountain, obelisk, swimming baths, A&P Association room and the establishment of a museum. On the day a Jubilee Oak was planted (*The Press*, 21/6/1887). For the 1902 coronation the New Zealand government offered local governments grants and subsidies towards the cost of celebrating the coronations including the erection of permanent commemorative markers (Archives New Zealand, IA 3/3/25). This allowed communities to contemplate the erection of items of infrastructure, such as halls, band rotundas and swimming pools, which would not have been possible until some time in the future. Similar grants and subsidies were available for 1911 and 1937 coronations (Archives New Zealand, IA 3/3/28; IA 3/3/31). Under the 1911 scheme the Coronation Avenue in the Halswell Domain was planted. In the ever expanding competitive field of commemoration, trees remained popular and were planted in conjunction with more ambitious commemorative undertakings.

The central civic role of the commemorative tree as the focus of celebrations was in decline by 1937. At the previous coronation, that of George V in 1911, the second coronation celebrated in New Zealand, coronation trees had already attained tradition status. Comments were being made that “[n]o Coronation would be complete without

the planting of a coronation oak” (*The Press*, 23/6/1911). By 1937, the coronation oak was still part of the official programme but now represented one of the less spectacular aspects of the celebrations, attracting limited press coverage. The civic plantings of coronation oaks were no longer the focus for the day, reduced to a perfunctory element, robbing the tree of much of its symbolic aspects. The spectacle of the festivities had taken over. The civic value of the tree had changed, its educational role handed over to schools. The landscape remained the vehicle upon which festivities of the day were played out, most of which were ephemeral leaving little in the way of mnemonics in the landscape.

Shifting power relations

Changes in the symbolism and meaning of commemorative trees articulated in the 1930s were driven in part by changes in the political status of the former settler colonies and in the balance of their plural identities. Gone was the need for a sense of belonging to Britain and a strictly British identity. The diversity of tree species used greatly diminished the symbolism of Empire and power. By the 1930s the Dominions (a change in administrative status of the settler colonies adopted in 1907) were or had the potential to be free, independent states with legislative control of the last areas of British parliamentary control, namely external affairs and defence. This final move was initiated through Dominion involvement in the Imperial War Cabinet during the latter half of the First World War. From this experience the Dominions called for an equality of voice in Empire matters with the British Government and more continuous consultation on common policies. They also called for a declarative definition of the constitutional status of the Dominions as the wider international community did not understand the terminology. This became particularly apparent during preparations for the post Armistice international peace conference. The status of the Dominions was finally addressed during the 1926 Imperial Conference with the removal of the final impediments to full independence and equality of the Dominions with Great Britain. The legislative outcome was the Statute of Westminster 1931. This gave each Dominion full legislative power over foreign affairs and equal status with Britain within the newly styled British Commonwealth and on the international stage. Canada, Ireland and South Africa adopted the Statute soon after it was passed.

Australia and New Zealand waited, adopting the statute in 1942 and 1947 respectively (McIntyre, 2007).

Personal and national identities did not remain static in the face of changing country status. They continued to evolve from the hybrid identities of the British New Zealander, Canadian or Australian, expressed during the 1901 royal tour. A greater understanding of what it was to be, for example, a New Zealander, emerged out of the First World War. Combat experience provided evidence for the colonial soldiers that they were equal to and different from their British counterparts. The quality of the fighting colonial forces won them respect from the British and other Allied forces and from each other. The colonial troops emerged from the conflict with a greater sense of themselves, as New Zealanders, Australians and Canadians, altered from the British New Zealanders, British Australians and British Canadians identities they had entered the war under. This feeling of greater association with their land of birth was also reflected at home within a well developed national consciousness (Sinclair 1986). It was not until 1948 that a New Zealand identity was recognised in legislation, with the passing of the New Zealand Citizenship Act. Under British law New Zealanders were still British subjects and only in 1977 were the words “British Subject” removed from New Zealand passports (www.teara.govt.nz). Despite changes to country status and identity the practice of planting trees for royal occasions has persisted. More trees have been planted by Queen Elizabeth II than any royal before her. Other visiting members of the Royal family have acquiesced to requests of tree-planting, including Prince William, the Queen’s grandson, further perpetuating the tradition. Communities and individuals have continued to mark various royal events and milestones: such as the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spenser; the births of Princes William and Harry; the birthdays of Prince Charles and the Queen Mother; the death of Princess Diana; and the Golden Jubilee of the Queen’s reign. The continuity of this practice since the 1860s to the present reflects ongoing cultural links that have survived in the face of shifting power relations, although the markers themselves no longer denote the concepts once ascribed to earlier trees.

Landscapes of royal memory

Political, social and cultural changes during the twentieth century have considerably weakened the social and cultural symbolic significance of royal commemorative trees. Many of the trees planted still survive in the landscape. However, their visibility has been compromised through the shifting power and social relations between monarch, state and citizens, and through the memories and events subsequent generations have chosen to remember. As a consequence, the understandings of the symbolic meanings and representations of the trees have diminished in living memory and have become detached, no longer powerful mnemonic devices. This evolutionary path of memory has transformed royal commemorative trees from memorial trees to what Cloke and Pawson (2008) have called treescape memories in which royal associations have been replaced with alternative linkages to place through more vernacular experiences and personal interactions with trees. This transformation is reflected in all forms of civic and public royal plantings and most aptly demonstrated in the trope of royal trees found in the Botanic Gardens, Christchurch. Parallels can be seen in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Melbourne, Australia. Both sites have been the preferred official locations for the marking of royal and vice-royal visits in their respective cities. From the evolution of royal memory in these two particular landscapes, three features are prominent. Firstly, royal trees from previous years have faded into the landscape that they themselves have helped create; secondly, the royal trees have been joined in that landscape by commemorative trees planted for a much wider range of purposes; and thirdly, despite shifting power relations royal tree planting has continued to contribute to the landscape through the Queen and Governors-General.

Since the establishment of Botanic Gardens in Melbourne, Australia, and Christchurch, New Zealand from the 1850s, these institutions have followed broadly similar trajectories. They were the personification of imperial spaces in the colonies, engaged in botanic and economic enterprises on behalf of the Empire, expanding science, knowledge and enterprise for the betterment of the Empire (Ginn, 2005). To adequately undertake these activities the sites were fenced and gated off from their respective cities, protected from animals and pests, and vandals and vagrants alike. Hours of entry were restricted. It was appropriate, then, that the royal representatives of the Empire should plant reminders of their visit in such spaces.

The Christchurch and Melbourne Botanic Gardens assumed many of the roles of the English public parks: part recreation ground, part educational facility and part commemorative space (Conway, 1991). As in the English parks, commemorative spaces were, by design, elitist, thus rendering the deed of commemorative tree planting an exclusive activity. Controls were exerted over who was permitted to plant trees, inviting only people of importance. Until the 1930s and 1940s, this was predominantly the exclusive domain of royal visitors, Governors and Governors-General, those who represented the power of the Crown and the British Empire in the colonies/dominions. Power was vested in the landscape by the planter and anchored by the tree. Tree symbolism was secondary to the power representation of the planter as many of the trees planted on these occasions were new species from distant continents unburdened by Western symbolism. Each tree was a statement to the presence of the empire and its power, legitimizing British authority in the name of the monarchy and the empire. This landscape was also supported by trees planted by the wives of the Governors and Governors-General.

Trees commemorating other purposes slowly began to appear from the 1930s and 1940s onwards, particularly in the Christchurch Botanic Gardens. In Christchurch, the planting of these trees was temporally interspersed between various royal and vice-regal visits, but spatially located away from the imperial trees, towards the rear of the Gardens. The exclusivity of the imperial landscape was undermined but the elitist approach to planting was retained. This has produced a gendered landscape which will be discussed in the next chapter. It is only in more recent times that new commemorative trees have encroached into the peripheral areas of the Armstrong Lawn and the Archery Lawn, the specific location of the imperial trees. The focus of the new commemorative trees remained international and reflects both Christchurch and New Zealand engagement in international networks outside the British Empire. This was indicative of shifting power relations. New Zealand was forging its own identity and distinctive culture, independent of Britain and the British Empire. Loyalty to the crown was also evolving in the face of these changes as New Zealand society slowly outgrew its need for a close imperial relationship. Imperial symbols began to empty of their meaning and connection, their relevancy diminishing in the new independent New Zealand. This has not prevented the further planting of trees by Queen Elizabeth II during the 1950s, 1960s and again in the 1980s, and the

Governors-General through to the 1970s. These trees persist as part of an ongoing tradition. Rather than accruing outmoded traditional imperial associations they acknowledge the role and status of the planters as in the case of trees planted by other dignitaries for other purposes.

Summary

The changing nature of memory has seen the role of royal trees change over time. As Cloke and Pawson (2008) have argued, in popular and civic imagination the royal trees have out-survived the purposes and associations for which they were originally planted. Failure to reinforce the relevance of the trees to subsequent generations has undermined the ability to read the symbolic meanings of the trees, leaving only a record of the event on a plaque. The trees, thus detached from their original purpose, have become large marked trees in parks of large trees, no longer mnemonic reminders to a plethora of imperial memories. Instead they have been transformed into “a broader register of treescape memories” that acknowledge the landscape in which the trees were planted and the ways in which the trees themselves have constituted that landscape (Cloke and Pawson, 2008:111).

The current status of the royal trees belies the significance they once held at the time of planting. Royal events were important social and political occasions in which trees acted as significant markers that celebrated identity and loyal sentiment rather than power relations. They conveyed the people’s identification with the monarchy and the Empire, which at the time spoke of identity but from a distance of years has been read as power. The celebration of these royal events played an important part in the settler colonies understanding of their place in the British Empire and how they viewed themselves in relation to that Empire through the evolution of self-defined identities. The slow demise of the significance of royal commemorative trees paralleled the inward turning of the colonies/dominions in the ongoing construction of personal and national identity through the ma(r)king of place. The next chapter examines the celebration of the local and the unique set of events and people marked there.

Chapter 6

The Ma(r)king of Place

Introduction

Royal trees are a conspicuous segment of arboreal markers found in places. Contemporaneous with these markers were a diverse range of multiple memories offered through the celebration of various occasions and people. These commemorative trees were planted by individuals, groups, societies and institutions marking public and private memories and endeavours. Some commemorations continued to look outward to networks of connections leading to and away from New Zealand. Many others looked inward to the local and the national in celebrating place, that is, individuals who lived in places and events that occurred there. This inward focus takes on greater momentum with the construction of local and national identities centred on New Zealand. This chapter, therefore, takes place as its geographical focus.

Place offers a unique lens through which to see the development of a location. The growth and maturity of place and the confidence of its inhabitants are reflected in the commemorative landscape. This expression of memory by individual and varying sizes of collectives vies for public space, interrupting broader scale notions of collective memory. More intimate scales of memory anchored in the landscape challenge a dominant, single interpretation of a collective past, highlighting multiple memories and pasts associated with place and multiple meanings. Much of the commemoration signifies the celebration of aspects of everyday life, acting as markers and reminders of milestones or events rather than devices for the perpetuation of memory per se. As a result the level of potency of memory in the landscape may

determine its survivability: the more private the memory the less likely it is to survive beyond the living memory of the circle of people associated with the occasion.

Appearing less ideologically driven and perhaps more benign than royal commemoration, the marking of place is nonetheless politicised. Political consent for land and control over location have created and reproduced particular gendered landscapes that have traditionally favoured white, masculine power and memory. Urban commemorative landscapes are dominated by monuments in memory of the tragedies, heroism and achievements of men. The expression of women's memory is largely absent (Monk 1992). In many places there is a resounding silence surrounding indigenous memory and its appropriate cultural expression in the landscape (Shaw, 2007). More recently, however, the tree has been an effective commemorative medium for emplacing the memory of some marginalized groups, particularly women's memory. The relative late appearance of this memory in the landscape has resulted in the concentration of trees planted by women and/or women's organisations at some locations and its under-represented or exclusion at others.

This chapter argues that trees have been an important memory device in the marking and making of place. Their non-human agency has been employed as an important constituent in the physical manifestation of unique combinations of multiple local public and private memories in the marking of place (Jones & Cloke, 2002). It was through the making of place, particularly influenced by Arbor Day and the commemoration of the day itself, which helped mark the way towards the celebration of domestic memory. Arbor Day raised the profile of the tree in the public consciousness, publicizing their benefits in urban settings and pointing out the humanising and civilising effect trees had on place: this despite the relative popularity of planting trees for royal events. The processes of construction and marking of place were not created in a vacuum. Both place and memory in place have been, in part, constructed around international connections and influences. The globalising effect is evident in particular places at particular times. However, in the evolution of place many of the memories inscribed onto these trees have been less sustaining and more ephemeral than those of the royal trees. As such they have passed more readily from an active mnemonic into the treescape of memories.

Place

Place offers a geographical space and scale within which private and civic memories have been rendered public and connections with the wider world acknowledged and anchored in the landscape. According to Massey (1991; 2005) and Cresswell (2004), the concept of place is at once simple and multifaceted, material and abstract, bounded and fluid. The theorising of place has made for a broad concept that is complex in nature and for which there is no single definition (see Duncan, 2000; Cresswell, 2004). As a starting point Cresswell (2004:12) defines place as “space invested with meaning in the context of power”. In everyday common usage place can mean ownership, difference and ordering. It also represents an emotional association between an individual and location (Cresswell, 2004). Thus place is both tangible and intangible, a physical presence and psychological response.

Psychological responses to place develop from an individual’s own image of and relationship with “place” through their lived-in place experiences, including interactions with trees and relations with other people, creating a personal concept of place (Windsor & McVey, 2005). This sense of place is an embodied response to the social interactions with place’s materiality, based on personal experience, knowledge and memories of place. The two facets of place, its physical presence and psychological response, have evolved along with the changing geography of social relations (Cresswell, 2004; Massey 2005; McCreanor et al, 2006). The processes which construct place, including the planting of trees, cannot be separated from its materiality or its experiential characteristics (Cresswell, 1996; Windsor and McVey, 2005).

Defining place in the context of settler colonies, Massey’s (1991) idea of place provides a useful frame. In refocusing place to accommodate globalization and a perceived era of space-time compression, Massey sees the specificity of place as “a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus” (Massey, (1991:28). This highlights a more “throwntogetherness” notion of place than controlled long-term planning (Massey, 2005:14). When combined with the mechanisms of time-space compression the construction of the local at a particular locus is unique but linked to the wider world. These flows and interconnections of economic, political and social processes (Massey, 1991), for

example, movements of people, information, products and capital (Cresswell, 2004:71), are premised on uneven power relations, which Massey (1991) has termed power-geometries. This idea challenges notions of place as bounded, insular and static with an internally homogenous identity. Rather Massey sees place as unbounded, heterogeneous and progressive, in which place retains its specific uniqueness, whilst dispelling the idea of coherence over time and collective identity (Massey, 1991, 2005; Cresswell, 2004). Place, therefore, evolves as new constellations of processes intersect.

The expression of memory in place is a physical manifestation of Massey's (1991) constellation of networks and processes. The flow of memory practices from Britain to the settler colonies highlights the interconnectedness between metropole and the colonies. The transferability of rituals and ceremony of commemorative trees is illustrated through the successful transfer of nineteenth century royal tree planting and preferred tree species such as the oak. In turn, commemorative tree planting has been used to create the specificity or uniqueness of place through a particular suite of events and people that are marked in each place. Over time this commemorative marking has employed a wider array of species incorporating new and indigenous species. Significantly places evolve in specific ways as memorial trees contribute to the development of landscapes and the emergence of new treescape memories (Cloke and Pawson, 2008). In the following discussion place-specific and general examples will be used, drawn from local and overseas locations. Arbor Day particularly provides a useful example of both the simultaneous marking of place in localities and a globalising expression of place.

Commemoration and Place

The physical ma(r)king of place is a continual process of embedding or anchoring memory in the landscape. Although places are not "memory-less" (Dwyer, 2004:431), new colonial towns, by the fact of having no history, must construct meaning and memory from both beyond their borders, as seen in the previous chapter, and from within place. This ma(r)king of place, Dwyer (2004) has called symbolic accretion. The term was specifically applied, initially by Foote (1997), to the addition of commemorative material onto existing memorials, either enhancing (allied

accretion) or contradicting (antithetical accretion) the narratives of the memorial. However, Dwyer (2004:419) also argues “[m]ore generally, the act of commemoration itself may be understood as a process of accretion in that heretofore anonymous spaces are formally recognized via the grafting of memorial elements”. This is directly applicable to continuing development of colonial and post-colonial memorial landscapes. For most new British settler colonial towns the foreign landscapes the settlers inhabited were suffused with indigenous memory. The ma(r)king of a new colonial place with Old World memory tools promoted the memory of the settlers over the centuries of memory of indigenous populations, calling attention to new narratives in the landscape and suppressing existing ones. In such settings the development and expansion of a memorial landscape has been achieved through the accreting of previously “anonymous” space through the planting of commemorative trees and erection of monuments.

Outside of the cemetery, the 1863 royal marriage commemorative trees represented some of the earliest forms of civic or public memorialisation in New Zealand and Australia. These trees, along with the other categories of memorialisation erected in fledgling frontier towns, were statements that spoke of an anticipated permanence of place that at the time may not have been totally secured. Such statements helped to create and reinforce multiple meanings and senses of place. Some memorial efforts were more successful than others. In Christchurch, New Zealand, the first move towards public commemoration was the Canterbury Provincial Government’s approved commissioning of a bronze statue of John Robert Godley, the founding father of Christchurch, nine months prior to the planting of the royal marriage trees. Within three months of the said approval the British sculptor, Thomas Woolner, had accepted the commission offered by a London-based committee, charging £1500. The statue was unveiled to acclaim on 6 August, 1867, in what would later be called Cathedral Square. One speaker, Charles Bowen, spoke of the need for such a reminder of the recent past:

Time goes fast in this century, fastest of all in a young country ... few as the years that had elapsed since the foundation of this settlement, we required some such reminder as maybe found in looking up at that grave, earnest face before we could understand the ambition of the founders of this province (*Lyttleton Times*, 7/8/1867, cited in Stocker (2001)).

This was an expensive, high quality statement of faith for a town consisting of only a “few scattered buildings” (Cookson, 2001:15). Less successful was Dunedin’s choice of monument to Captain Cargill, the city founder. For a similar cost as the Godley statue the town commissioned a stone monument in the form of a tower and spire. The design, available in March 1863, was considered elegant but did not translate well into physical form (Griffiths, 1976). The finished monument was derided by the *Otago Witness* (24/9/1864) as “a flimsy, light, trifling structure, more fitted for a pleasure garden ...”, a “trumpery unsubstantial looking thing”, “an eyesore”, and “an insult to the memory of Captain Cargill”. The writer concluded that “Dunedin is a sufficiently queer city without barley-sugar ornaments of this description.” Such was the disappointment in the monument that it was never unveiled. After the death of Captain Cargill’s wife the monument was removed from the Octagon, an octagon shaped ‘square’ at the centre of town, to the military parade ground in front of the Custom House (*Otago Witness*, 27/1/1872). Although the monument was not seen as a fitting memorial for Captain Cargill, another one was not attempted. This was an unfortunate failure after the planting of the royal wedding trees the previous year. The successful use of commemorative forms in the marking of place ensured their continued utilization.

In the late nineteenth century the marking of place by the celebration of royal events was interspersed with a limited number of locally focussed commemorations. An early example was the opening of the Recreation Grounds (later Pukekura Park) in New Plymouth in May 1876. To mark this, four trees were planted: an oak representing Great Britain, a Radiata pine for America, a Norfolk Island pine for the South Pacific and a puriri tree to represent New Zealand. This planting looks out from New Zealand to overseas territories of importance to this port town. At the same time it recognises New Zealand’s place in the South Pacific which was relatively unusual for the period. It was also one of the first commemorative events traced that made use of a native tree. This marking of place was also about the making of place. The opening of recreation grounds was a sign of progress, the bringing of order to nature in a treeless swampy valley (www.pukeariki.com), the mark of a civilised society. As the people of New Plymouth were adding trees to the landscape, it was the removal of the native forest, also a mark of progress, which was becoming a matter of concern. The introduction of Arbor Day was seen as the way of addressing

the loss or absence of trees. At the local level Arbor Day provided an opportunity for people to come together to celebrate place, trees and tree-planting, benefiting place through aesthetic enhancement.

Arbor Day

The establishment of Arbor Day in New Zealand was the culmination of increasing concern over the state of native forests and the real possibility of timber shortages. The once extensive forests were declining in the face of ongoing settlement. The philosophy of improvement viewed the removal of the forest as a mark of progress central to the successful colonisation of New Zealand (Pawson & Brooking, 2002). This project had been so successful that for several decades, concern had been voiced over the speed of the demise of native forests and the amount of wastage being incurred in the removal of the best timber (Wynn, 2002). Thousands of acres of forest were being burned each year as an easy and cheap method of clearing the land for grass and for want of a cheap way of getting the wood to market (*Taranaki Herald*, 2/7/1889). Any suggestion of attempts to conserve the native forests were seen to be detrimental to colonial settlement by making land, otherwise suitable for settlement, inaccessible (Roche, 1987).

A second aspect of Arbor Day was aesthetic enhancement of towns and cities. Many inhabitants of towns throughout New Zealand viewed the planting of trees for aesthetic enhancement to be the responsibility of the municipal councils and local boards (*Wairarapa Weekly*, 10/7/1890). Some public bodies were planting trees. The Domain Board Nursery in Christchurch distributed over three-quarters of a million trees between 1870 and 1872, throughout Canterbury and beyond. Trees were sent to such bodies as railways departments, borough and county councils, cemetery boards, schools, police depots and gaols, as well as a number of private individuals (Pawson, 2000). In other cases public bodies were not in the financial position to make money available for the planting of trees (*Wairarapa Weekly*, 10/7/1890). By the 1890s beautification remained a low priority for many local councils and boards.

Origins

Arbor Day originated in the state of Nebraska, USA. The idea was instigated by the Honourable J. Sterling Morton, an avid tree-planter. His first appeal for tree-planting

came from the observed distress of crop farmers during the summer drought of 1857 in Nebraska. He recommended the planting of a variety of trees including fruit trees, which in time of drought could provide food, wood and shade. Fifteen years later Morton's concerns over the growing impact of the demands of the American population for land and timber resulted in the instigation of Arbor Day (Beaty & Wilkerson, 1998). Huge volumes of timber were consumed on a weekly basis to enable numerous American communities and industries to function. Estimates in the 1880s suggested that 55 million Americans consumed 25,000 acres of forest a day (www.arborday.org). Mr Morton saw Nebraska's prairies as offering vast potential for the growing of trees (Beaty & Wilkerson, 1998). He presented a motion before a meeting of the State Board of Agriculture, of which he was president, of setting aside 10th April 1872 as a day for planting trees. To encourage participation Mr Morton also suggested the offering of prizes: \$100 to be paid to the agricultural society who "properly planted" the greatest number of trees and a farm library of books worth \$25 to the farmer who single-handedly planted the most trees (Bathgate, 1891b; Beaty & Wilkerson, 1998). The prize money suggests that the scheme targeted farmers who owned land and agricultural societies with access to both private and public land available for planting. The purpose of planting trees was to provide a resource for future use.

Various figures have been quoted on the number of trees planted on the first Arbor Day in Nebraska. Estimates range from 2 to 12 million trees (*The Times*, 16/3/1874; *South Australian Register*, 20/6/1889). Source materials from the Forestry Division of the United States Department of Agriculture indicated that the day was successful and over one million trees were planted (Bathgate, 1891b). The same newspaper reports did not record where so many trees were being sourced. The continued success of Arbor Day is illustrated through the number of trees reported planted. By 1893 it was estimated that 400 million trees had been planted since 1872, in Nebraska alone, covering a total of 700,000 acres (Egleston, 1893). However, little has been mentioned of the actual survival rates of either trees planted or the state of the surviving trees. Arbor Day and tree-planting remained the domain of the agricultural and farming sector until 1882 when the holiday was adopted by the state of Ohio.

Mr John B. Peaslee, superintendent of the Cincinnati Schools, introduced Arbor Day to Ohio. He modified the Nebraskan model by applying Arbor Day and tree-planting to the urban setting. Rather than planting trees for protection and timber as in the country, in Cincinnati trees were planted for aesthetic purposes and as memorial trees celebrating historical events and famous people. Schools were invited to participate in the ceremonies and festivities. Three groves were planted on the day, each with a particular theme. One honoured the country's heroes and another grove the country's Presidents. The third had a literary theme in the form of an Authors' Grove (Anon, 1894; *New York Times*, 30/5/1937). Other states soon adopted Mr Morton's concept and Mr Peaslee's format. Over the following years large numbers of trees were planted in rural areas and beautification undertaken in towns and cities. Ultimately Arbor Day became a day chiefly celebrated by schools. The state education system became the principal means for inculcating the young in practical, aesthetic and emotional aspects of trees (Egleston, 1893; anon, 1894). In the promotion of Arbor Day in New Zealand it was hoped that both the educational features and the prodigious planting of trees would be adopted and prove as successful in this new setting.

Arbor Day in New Zealand

From the time of the establishment of Arbor Day in the United States there was intermittent reference to the holiday in local newspapers and journals in New Zealand. Young (2004) points to advocating for the establishment of Arbor Day in the 1870s, through editorials of at least one Auckland newspaper. The *New Zealand Country Journal* gave brief (33 words) mention of Arbor Day in its September 1882 edition. Articles continued to appear in various newspapers on an irregular basis chronicling the adoption of Arbor Day in other colonies, such as Adelaide, South Australia in 1889 and in reference to the benefits this holiday would offer to New Zealand (*Weekly Press*, 12/7/1889; *New Zealand Country Journal*, 5/2/1891). Information on Arbor Day was part of the flow of agricultural and arboreal information which traversed agricultural, municipal and beautification networks across much of the English speaking world (Beattie & Star, 2005; Beattie, 2005; Wood & Pawson, 2008). It was not until 1890 that a tree-planting scheme, which drew on the Nebraska/Ohio model, was introduced and executed in New Zealand.

Arbor Day was first celebrated in New Zealand in the Wairarapa town of Greytown on 3 July 1890. The idea was primarily presented in terms of a beautification scheme by Mr W. C. Nation, the proprietor and editor of the *Wairarapa Standard*. In a letter to the Greytown Borough Council he proposed the planting of ornamental and fruit trees in the town's reserves and along its streets and roadsides. Understanding the Council's financial situation Mr Nation was not asking for money but was seeking consent for the project. He promised to supply trees and fencing and was certain that additional funds would be forthcoming from the local population. The Council viewed the proposal as a good opportunity for beautifying the township and agreed to supervise preparations for the event (*Wairarapa Standard*, 16/4/1890; 4/7/1890). Funds were raised through subscriptions, donations and the proceeds from a variety of concerts. The American Arbor Day model was adapted for local conditions and needs. On the day shops closed and people lined the streets as teachers, students, the Mayor, councillors and chairmen of various local bodies, marched behind the local band to the edge of town. Speeches were given on the benefits of tree planting and beautifying, in particular for the site to be planted. In addition, the mayor, Mr R. A. Wakelin, said there were instructive benefits to be gained in showing the children "how to plant trees and beautify the approach to our town, so that when they have places of their own they will have some experience and will be able to carry out their own tree planting and beautify their own places." The remaining speakers also endorsed the day and the movement, while those unable to attend wrote letters of endorsement and encouragement (*Wairarapa Standard*, 4/7/1890).

The festivities brought local settler and Maori communities together. Mr Tenuiorangi spoke on behalf of local Maori. On hearing of the project he was determined to plant native trees. He viewed the project as an opportunity for both Māori and Pakeha to unite to plant trees that would grow together. To express his commitment to a desired "strong bond of unity ... between both races", he stated that "if [the tree] I shall plant should wither I will plant again, and again, until a tree grows up with the rest." Mr S. Mahupuku also spoke, glad of the good feeling between the two peoples in Greytown. He brought with him a native shrub, highly prized for its scent, which he wished to plant beside the Mayor's tree. At the end of the afternoon approximately 150 trees were planted, mainly spruce and pine, and protected by wooden triangles (*Wairarapa Standard*, 4/7/1890). This first celebration of Arbor Day was not recognized

nationally. It was through the endeavours of Mr Alexander Bathgate that an official Arbor Day was adopted in 1892.

Alexander Bathgate was a Dunedin solicitor with a passion for nature and conservation. He was a founding member of the Dunedin and Suburban Reserves Conservation Society which undertook a number of practical, educational and advocacy activities. This included the promotion of reforestation and the presentation of submissions to the government on the detrimental environmental effects of legislation. Out of these interests Mr Bathgate undertook an intensive campaign through pamphlets and newspaper articles for the adoption of Arbor Day, drawing on the state of New Zealand's native forests, the waste of timber in land clearance and legislative attempts to make provisions for future timber demands, as well as detailing the American experience. This body of work also included a draft of potential legislation (Bathgate, 1891a, 1891b, 1891c; Vine, 1993). The campaign ended with the government actively supporting the call for the introduction of Arbor Day. On the 7th July the government proclaimed the 4th of August, 1892, as the day for its celebration (New Zealand Gazette, 1892:952).

Arbor Day required the co-operation of a broad range of people. The Department of Agriculture was responsible for its implementation (Young, 2004). Participation was to be encouraged through local councils and schools. Circulars were sent to local councils promoting Arbor Day and calling for their support and assistance in its celebration (*Canterbury Times*, 11/8/1892). The Agriculture Department provided information and suggestions on tree-planting and species to plant (*Oamaru Mail*, 11/7/1893). The Education Board sent out circulars to school committees drawing attention to the day (*Oamaru Mail*, 5/7/1892). In turn regional education boards promoted participation to school committees (*Canterbury Times*, 11/8/1892). At the local level co-operation was needed from local town boards, teachers and school children, shop owners, local bands and the general public to make the event a success.

Celebrations were widespread, although up-take by communities was erratic in some areas. The form of participation for the day varied across communities. Many communities combined tree-planting with a holiday, and celebrated in similar fashion to other public events, with processions, speeches, food and games. In some schools

pupils were given a holiday even though no tree-planting was planned. Not all communities participated in the inauguration of Arbor Day. Some communities felt that the short time-frame and problems with obtaining trees made it difficult to be sufficiently prepared in time (*Timaru Herald*, 5/8/1892; *Canterbury Times*, 11/8/1892).

Towns, such as Oamaru and Dunedin, were enthusiastic in their response. The Oamaru Arbor Day Committee actively sought the participation of the general public in making the day a success. Banks, merchants, shopkeepers and others were approached with the view to closing their premises for the day (*Oamaru Mail*, 13/7/1892, 23/7/1892). The committee decided to call tenders for ground preparation to provide temporary work for some of the unemployed men in town rather than organise working bees (*Oamaru Mail*, 19/7/1892). Funds and tree-planting requirements were successfully raised through donations and subscriptions. On the day a procession was held and 1000 children marched to the site of planting where 1600 trees were planted with the use of only 150 spades. When the boys grew tired the girls took over. According to the newspaper the day was not without its humour. The writer described

one small boy, having laboriously planted two trees, almost as big as himself, threw down this spade for a “Smoke-Oh!” and began to regale himself on a huge sandwich, regarding his handiwork meanwhile with undisguised admiration. In response to the inquiry if he were not going to plant any more, he responded “No; I’m full up. I’ve planted a forest already.” (*Oamaru Mail*, 4/8/1892).

In Dunedin, civic and school ceremonies across the city planted over 3700 trees in school grounds, parks and reserves. Several thousand children listened to speeches on the meaning and benefits of Arbor Day, planted trees and took part in other activities arranged for the day. The only disturbance was at George Street School where while waiting for proceeding to commence, many of the boys present started playing war games with sticks they had brought to support the newly planted saplings (*ODT*, 5/8/1892). The *ODT* editorial commentary on 6/8/1892 expressed a hope that Arbor Day would have some small civilising effect on the “young barbarians” of the city, so called by a speaker at Kensington School, and “exercise a check upon larrikin proclivities and direct the buoyant energies of youth into wholesome channels”. Throughout the province of Otago returns on tree-planting indicated that at least

11,654 trees were planted (*Canterbury Times*, 15/9/1892). Based on tree numbers the response of rural and small town Otago was as enthusiastic as in its larger centres. There were few reports on the survival rates of the trees planted through to the second or subsequent years. Losses were expected. Various schools and communities replaced anything up to 40% of the previous year's trees. Incorrect planting techniques, heavy frosts, too much or too little water, pest predation and competition from weeds all took their toll on the young trees. In some instances, as at Little River and Akaroa on Banks Peninsula, prizes were offered to students to encourage maintenance of trees (*Canterbury Times*, 11/8/1892). In at least one instance all trees planted in 1892 were dead within twelve months. Children of the North East Valley School, Dunedin, were held responsible for their failure to maintain the trees. The school board and teachers resolved the following year to show their disappointment by deciding not to participate in tree-planting or the holiday. This resulted in a revolt: boys carrying cabbages and sticks went to the house of the chairman of the school board and demanded that he come out and talk to them. All was amicably resolved with a promise by the chairman to ask the school master to give a half day holiday (*OTD*, 5/8/1893). Ultimately, there was no guarantee that trees planted would survive, nor was it clear from all newspaper sources consulted how the communities actually viewed the long term role of the trees - whether aesthetics, for timber production, commemoration, or climate amelioration.

Participation in subsequent Arbor Days remained variable. A measles epidemic in 1893 restricted the numbers of schools and the numbers of children able to participate (*The Press*, 31/7/1893). Drought, rain and frost all took their toll on decisions whether to plant trees. Civic and general public observances became intermittent, particularly as fewer local councils called for general holidays, leaving only government departments and schools closed. Arbor Day followed the trend in the United States in becoming primarily a school activity; some schools continued to work in conjunction with local councils (*The Press*, 6/8/1895; 20/7/1899; 20/7/1900). Within five years many places had run out of suitable locations to plant trees, school grounds, sports ground, parks and reserves having been fully planted, and in a number of cases, over-planted. Governmental concern that interest in Arbor Day was waning is evident in the government gazette entry declaring Arbor Day to be celebrated on 13

July, 1898. The government further encouraged local government and local bodies to actively promote continued tree-planting:

In order that the movement may be made as successful as possible the Government holds that the Mayors of the various municipalities and Chairmen of local bodies will place the matter prominently before the people of the colony, and do all they can to encourage the planting of public reserves and other available lands, both public and private, with trees suited to the locality (*New Zealand Gazette*, 1898:1019).

For a number of towns this notice came too late. Timaru, for instance, only held Arbor Day celebrations in 1893 and 1894. According to the *Timaru Herald* (3/8/1894) both celebrations were considered to have been a fiasco, in planning and execution.

The adoption of Arbor Day highlighted the hypocrisy of governmental policy. William Martin pointed out, in a letter to the editor of the *Oamaru Mail* (1/8/1892), that “Is it not an anomaly to establish Arbor Day for the purpose of giving a national interest in tree planting, and yet dispose of all forest lands without making intelligent reservations for future necessities and requirements.” An *ODT* correspondent signing himself “Totara” called the situation a farce:

That Arbor Day should have been inaugurated by Government is incomprehensible, seeing that each successive government has done everything possible to thrust bush land upon the people on almost any terms so far as price is concerned, but with very stringent regulations compelling the destruction of magnificent forests (*ODT*, 4/8/1892).

The incongruity remained and was compounded by the Agricultural Department’s framing of Arbor Day as a means of replacing the native forests being lost. The visible irony of the situation was the planting of exotic trees amongst or in sight of the debris of a destroyed forest. Photographs of Rata School taken on 1 August 1894 (Figure 6.1) and Toko School, July 1900 (Figure 6.2) offer poignant reminders of this contrast (also see Young, 2004). The possibility of fulfilling the Agricultural Department’s vision was negligible since the government was unlikely or unable to make available the quantity of land in suitable locations necessary for the volume of planting needed (*Oamaru Mail*, 1/8/1892). State involvement in planned exotic forests did not occur until 1898 (Roche, 1987). In the end, Arbor Day would only benefit

individual places in the beautification of their locality and could do little to alleviate any future timber shortages.



Figure 6.1. Arbor Day at Rata School, Manawatu. 1 August 1894. Note the dead native trees in the background. (Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, ref # 1/1-011003-G)

Arbor Day presented a growing change in attitudes to the environment associated with place. For many localities this was one of the few times that the community came together in a beautifying project to take shared responsibility in the aesthetic improvement of “their place” (*Wairarapa Weekly*, 10/7/1890). Some communities were successful, others where not. As a public holiday Arbor Day differed from other holidays in two respects: firstly, it was a holiday that looked to the future rather than back to the past, as the people to benefit from the planting were the next generation (Bathgate, 1891a); and secondly, it had a practical purpose other than pleasure activities (*ODT*, 4/8/1892). However, issues over worker participation were the same as those for royal celebrations. Despite enthusiasm for the day fading quickly, the idea of privately led public enhancement of place was more readily taken up by groups such as the Christchurch Beautification Association, formed in 1897 (Strongman, 1999) and the reformed Oamaru and Suburban Beautifying Society in 1908 (McDonald, [1940] 1998). The establishment of these and other groups throughout the country paralleled the development of the City Beautiful Movement in



Figure 6.2. Tree planting at Toko School, Taranaki, July 1900. Note the dead native trees over the fence from the school. (Source: Alexander Turnbull Library, ref # 1/2-003378-F)

the United States and the Garden City Movement in Britain and drew on their ideas (Peterson, 1976; Strongman, 1999). Arbor Day raised the profile of the tree, particularly in urban areas. Farmers already understood the benefits of trees for shade and windbreaks for the family house and stock, especially in Canterbury where the northwest winds were particularly fierce. The database indicates that it was only after the introduction of Arbor Day that many settlements and urban centres started planting commemorative trees that celebrated the local, including Christchurch. For some places, then, Arbor Day plantings represented the continuation of established practices for both the marking and enhancing place. For others, commemorative trees planted to mark the day became the foundation from which future plantings for other occasions were undertaken.

Trees in Places - analysis

In the broadest sense the marking of place is about the celebration of events, the memories of people and a little philanthropy through the gifting of trees. But this approach masks the diversity of public commemoration and the popularity of particular commemorative purposes within a broader events category. Thus for the purpose of the analysis of place trees a typology of commemorative purposes was constructed from a database of place trees located through fieldwork, newspaper and archival searches, local governments reports and from various books on local histories. Electronic resources, for example the internet, *The Times* Newspaper Archive and the *New York Times* Newspaper Archive were used to locate further local and international examples and used to increase the international scope of the database. The increase in the use of trees for commemorative purpose over the last one hundred and thirty years is an international trend. It was hoped that the inclusion of examples beyond the official study area would help locate local place trees in broader international trends, at the same time identifying any additional trends not evident in the local commemorative trees. Royal trees have not been included in the database but are referred to in the discussion. Much of the following analysis is related to the New Zealand context reflecting the greatest proportion of material in the database. International examples have been used to emphasise similarities or highlight temporal differences.

The typology is based on eleven distinct commemorative purposes for which trees have been employed. This is presented in Table 6.1. A number of trees were planted for multiple commemorative purposes, such as the memory of a person and an anniversary of an organisation or unrelated events and people, so this makes a numerical analysis of the database unhelpful. Any numbers used for commemorative purposes cut across categories to capture all examples within the database. The breakdown of the broader scale events category into sub-categories has helped identify significant trends within the data.

Table 6.1. Purposes for the planting of commemorative trees established from the database.

Commemorative Purposes
Anniversary
City links/friendship
Events
Gifts
Historical connection
In memory
Long service
Overseas connection
Overseas visitors
Visits
Well-known locals

The deliberate decision to commemorate an event or person has created unique combinations of commemorative purposes found in local landscapes. The temporal and spatial appearance of various tree categories varies from place to place. Four examples from New Zealand towns have been set in Table 6.2 to illustrate such variations. It also illustrates that smaller places, such as Ashburton, Oamaru and Timaru, generally have fewer categories of trees than can be found in large cities. Some of this variation between localities can be explained. Firstly, competing memorial forms mark the greatest difference between places. A wide range of commemorative choices compete for the marking of any event, local or national, public or private, for which the tree is only one possibility. Tastes in memorial form have seen some styles cycle through periods of various levels of popularity. Through these cycles the commemorative tree has been the mainstay for many communities. The tree and plaque option required minimal land, was more easily organised and obtained, and was relatively inexpensive compared to other commemorative counterparts. As a result, in many places the commemorative tree is more abundant than any other form of outdoor commemoration in the memorial landscape.

Secondly, location on major travel circuits increased the likelihood of visits from important visitors. Provincial capitals were popular destinations. Christchurch, particularly, has benefited from this status, apparent in the number of trees planted by royal and vice-regal visitors. Its geographic location has favoured the city as a base for overseas military and departure point for polar expeditions. These relationships

and those forged with overseas cities have been recorded with trees in Christchurch's memorial landscape. Both these factors, competition and location, must be premised upon the strength of local commemorative and tree-planting practices.

Table 6.2. Temporal and spatial variations in the appearance of commemorative tree purposes established in Table 1, for given towns and cities.

Christchurch	Ashburton	Oamaru	Timaru	Others*
Historical connection – 1897	Overseas connection/ In Memory – 1910	Overseas connection/ In memory – 1913	Gift – 1905	Visit – 1869
Overseas connection/in memory – 1913	Events– 1919	Events – 1933	In Memory – 1922	Events – 1876
Long Service – 1917	Anniversary – 1951	Anniversary – 1936	Historical connection – 1939	In memory – 1891
Overseas visitors – 1917		Long Service – 1940	Anniversary – 1940	Gift – 1911
Gift – 1928		Historical connection – 1953	Overseas connection 1941	Anniversary – 1936
Well known locals – 1931				Historical connection 1956
Events – 1939				Overseas connection -1972
Anniversary – 1940				Long service – 1972
City link/friendship – 1978				Overseas visitor – 1975
In memory – 1982 (private memory)				

* Others dataset comprises trees from Geraldine, Temuka, New Plymouth, Dunedin, Waimate, Fairlie, Masterton.

Significant developments

Three aspects of tree commemoration dominate the marking of place. First is the supremacy of male memory and the emergence of women's organisations as active planters. The concentrated locating of trees planted by women has produced gendered landscapes at particular sites. Four small case studies below discuss the inclusion and exclusion of women and their memory within the performance of commemorative tree planting. Second is the numerical domination of the celebration of anniversaries. This encapsulates the desire to celebrate fortitude and progress; and thirdly the surge of commemoration since the 1970s. As argued by Lowenthal (1998),

the pace of commemoration has quickened, emphasising the enhanced feeling of the acceleration of time and increasingly more people and groups are undertaking it.

Gendered Memory

Male memory dominates the database in every category. Most early trees represent events or associations in which men dominated, politically, economically and socially. The founding myths of many colonial places are predicated on male activities turning anonymous spaces into place. Most philanthropic gifts of trees were presented by men. In spite of this overall dominance, very few male-only groups have been involved in planting commemorative trees. A few groups could be identified: the Harlem Luncheon Association, World Council of Young Men's service clubs, Boys' schools, Freemasons, Lions (pre-1987) and Rotary (pre-1989) clubs, Druid Friendly Societies, and Boys Brigade. The under-representation of male-only groups could reflect their use of other commemorative forms which may or may not have included physical representations in the landscape or the fact that these groups did not participate in this type of memory work. At the same time there are a number of groups and societies that were established as male-only, such as the Canterbury Jockey Club, and various sports clubs, but at the time of planting had mixed membership.

In comparison, twenty-nine women's organisations have planted trees to celebrate milestones of their organisation, wider achievements of women and in memory of both women and men. Some of the first trees planted appear in the United States in the 1920s. It must be noted that trees planted on behalf of Women's organisations may not have been planted by women but invited male guests. The first trees planted by women's organisations in New Zealand appeared at the beginning of the 1950s. It was from the mid 1970s that there was a noticeable proliferation of women's organisations planting trees, corresponding with the growing prominence of the women's rights movement. This was particularly evident in Christchurch where the heightened level of visibility remained until the 1990s when it became somewhat overwhelmed by the multitude of plantings by other groups and organisations.

A clear gender imbalance is found in the "in memory" category, where trees have been planted in memory of people who have died. At the time of planting, those

commemorated were either recently deceased or were historical figures dead for many years. Norkunas (2002) sees these memorials as bringing the memory of the person commemorated out of the cemetery and relocating it back into the city or neighbourhood they were associated with in life. This act gives context to the memory of the person beyond that of familial relationships. This category divides asymmetrically between trees planted for men and those for women. Only six trees were planted in memory of both men and women, either to the memory of dead parents or with reference to war, service and victims of war. One hundred and five trees (drawn from all commemorative purposes) were planted to the memory of a person and represent a predominantly twentieth century phenomenon. Several pre-1900 trees planted in the United States for literary figures correspond with the introduction of memorial trees at the 1882 Arbor Day celebrations in Cincinnati.

Sixty-six trees were planted in memory of men, both to local people and national figures. The trees can be divided into three broad groups. The first is the commemorating of national and international figures during the 1900s and 1910s. From the 1920s trees for local identities dominated. These trees commemorated local individuals who had high profiles in their place of work or organisations to which they belonged. Towards the end of the century private memory was prominent, that is the marking, in public space, of a man's death by family and friends. These broad trends are interrupted by the commemoration of the war dead of two World Wars, during the 1920s and 1930s and to a lesser extent during the 1940s and 1950s. The commemoration of named individuals and unnamed groups constitute over one third of the trees in this group. In the American context the named individuals tended to be local or national identities, such as Quentin Roosevelt, the President's son, and the unnamed groups largely made up of locals. In New Zealand, by comparison, named individuals were generally local people.

Similar broad trends can be found in the thirty trees planted in memory of women. However, there is a time lag which sees trees to women's memory appear a number of years later. In New Zealand the first trees to commemorate women were inspired by well-known overseas individuals such as Florence Nightingale (1910). During the middle decades trees were planted to acknowledge women for their role as valued workers, paid and voluntary. The first recognition of a local woman in New Zealand

does not appear until relatively late, in the 1940s, whereas in the United States trees were being planted as early as the late 1920s, including a tree in New York in recognition of “the unknown mother” for her sacrifices in peace and war (*New York Times*, 31/5/1930). In the 1980s and 1990s, there was a turn to private memory with trees planted by family and friends. There was also a return to the commemoration of high profile overseas women, together with nationally recognised women from previous eras, for example, Amelia Earhart (Melbourne, 1981) and Ettie Rout (Christchurch, 1998). The deaths of two internationally renowned women in 1997, Princess Diana and Mother Teresa, prompted the planting of trees. In Christchurch, at least, during this time period more trees were planted to commemorate the memory of women than men. This indicates a greater prevalence for this type of commemoration in the memory of women during this period.

Case studies: The Male Domain and the Women Planters

Gender differences are not only evident in what memory is recorded but also in two other specific aspects of tree planting: the rituals that surround the planting of commemorative trees and the location of planting. Traditional gender roles of public ceremonies dictated the mode of participation within the tree planting ceremony. In many cases these gender roles remained the norm until the mid twentieth century. The clustering of trees at locations displays the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of particular sites. The first section discusses the change in possibilities of participation open to women from the Victorian era onwards. The second section explores two memorial landscapes: the first is the Christchurch Botanic Gardens as a “male domain” in which only a few select women have been allowed to plant trees. This is compared with an area along the Avon River and outside the Botanic Gardens. The second is the Ashburton Domain as an inclusive environment in which women have been willing and welcomed participants in the construction of the memorial landscape.

The Women Planters

In Christchurch, New Zealand, women have been involved with tree-planting for more than one hundred and fifty years. Women had good role models in the planting of trees. Queen Victoria was known as a prolific tree planter, undertaking both public and private tree-planting (*The Press*, 15/12/1898). Until the 1950s, women fulfilled

limited roles within tree-planting ceremonies. Victorian gender relations constructed the public realm as the domain of the men and the private realm of the home as the domain of the woman (Monk, 1992; Wylie, 2007). This gender asymmetry gave men the power to speak and act on behalf of the whole community. In the male domain of public ceremonies male social elites had active, visible, and speaking roles. Opportunities for women were generally limited to the passive decorative roles as members of the audience (Ryan, 1990). However, at some ceremonies ladies of social standing were invited to plant commemorative trees. These ladies may or may not have had direct association with the group holding the ceremony. The female planter was either responsible for the entire planting of the tree, accompanied by helpers or required to symbolically plant it by turning over several spades of soil, with the remainder of the task given over to a gardener or other appointed man. Once completed the principal speaker would proclaim the tree planted and name it, if required. Of the seven trees known to be planted in Christchurch and Lyttelton for the 1863 royal wedding, six are known to have been planted by female members of the social elite, then named by prominent men (*Canterbury Standard*, 10/7/1863; *The Press*, 11/7/1863; *Lyttelton Times*, 15/7/1863; *Canterbury Standard*, 17/7/1863). Only on a few occasions did women planters have limited speaking roles through the naming and declaring of their planted tree.

Royal events and Arbor Day presented most of the earlier tree-planting opportunities available to women. At many civic tree-planting ceremonies it was the wife of the mayor who planted the tree. Examples from Temuka and Ashburton suggest that civic tree-planting ceremonies provided numerous opportunities for the mayor's wife to plant trees. One of the few women accorded the opportunity to speak at a ceremony was Mrs J Sealey, Mayoress of Ashburton, addressing children gathered at the Borough School to celebrate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. The newspaper described Mrs Sealey's address as a "happy speech" but gave no account of its content (*The Press*, 23/6/1897). Even in the early 1920s when the first women's organisations were planting trees in the United States, gender roles were generally maintained (*New York Times*, 4/6/1926; 31/5/1931). However, these occasions offered greater possibilities for active female participation. In New Zealand, trees planted by rural women's organisations started to appear in the early 1950s. As gender roles began to blur in some areas women took greater control over their own

commemorative efforts, including speaking and planting. From the mid 1970s rural and urban domestic and international women's organisations took a more active and visible role in planting commemorative trees. In Melbourne, Australia, a small burst of commemorative tree planting by women and women's organisations in the late 1980s and early 1990s in a male dominated, bronze and stone commemorative landscape, has been attributed to the rise of women to the top positions of power in the city and the state, including the Lord Mayor of Melbourne, State Premier and Attorney-General (S Nicoll, pers. comm.). During the course of the twentieth century women have moved, albeit unevenly, from passive to active contributors in the production of commemorative landscapes in both rural and urban areas. The innovative groups which first planted commemorative trees led the way in bringing women's memory and social contribution into the commemorative landscape.

Inside and outside the Christchurch Botanic Gardens: cases of exclusivity and inclusivity

The Christchurch Botanic Gardens and the banks of the Avon River from Rolleston Avenue (starting from the southeast corner of the Gardens) to Barbadoes Street, along Oxford and Cambridge Terraces, illustrated in Figure 6.1, are spaces linked by the waters of the Avon River but are sites separated by gender. The Botanic Gardens was a secure, public site in which Christchurch's imperial identity was visibly constructed and proclaimed, declaring its participation in the British Empire and later the British Commonwealth through the marking of visits of important royal and vice-royal dignitaries. This Britishness is well represented by markers to three generations of royalty and many visits of New Zealand's Governors and Governors-General. The Botanic Gardens was an exclusive elite male domain in which the commemorative tree-planting activities of the local population were excluded. It was also a space in which only a few women have been invited to plant. Although protected from civic commemoration, it was a site in which staff undertook tree-planting for a range of royal and Gardens related events. Other outward-looking, international relationships are also represented. Rotary International represents the largest group of planters. From 1932 to 1988, sixteen male presidents planted a grove in a dedicated area. Since 1995 the Gardens have effectively been closed to commemorative tree planting due to lack of space. This has further protected the exclusivity of the site established with the first visitor, the Duke of Edinburgh, in 1869.

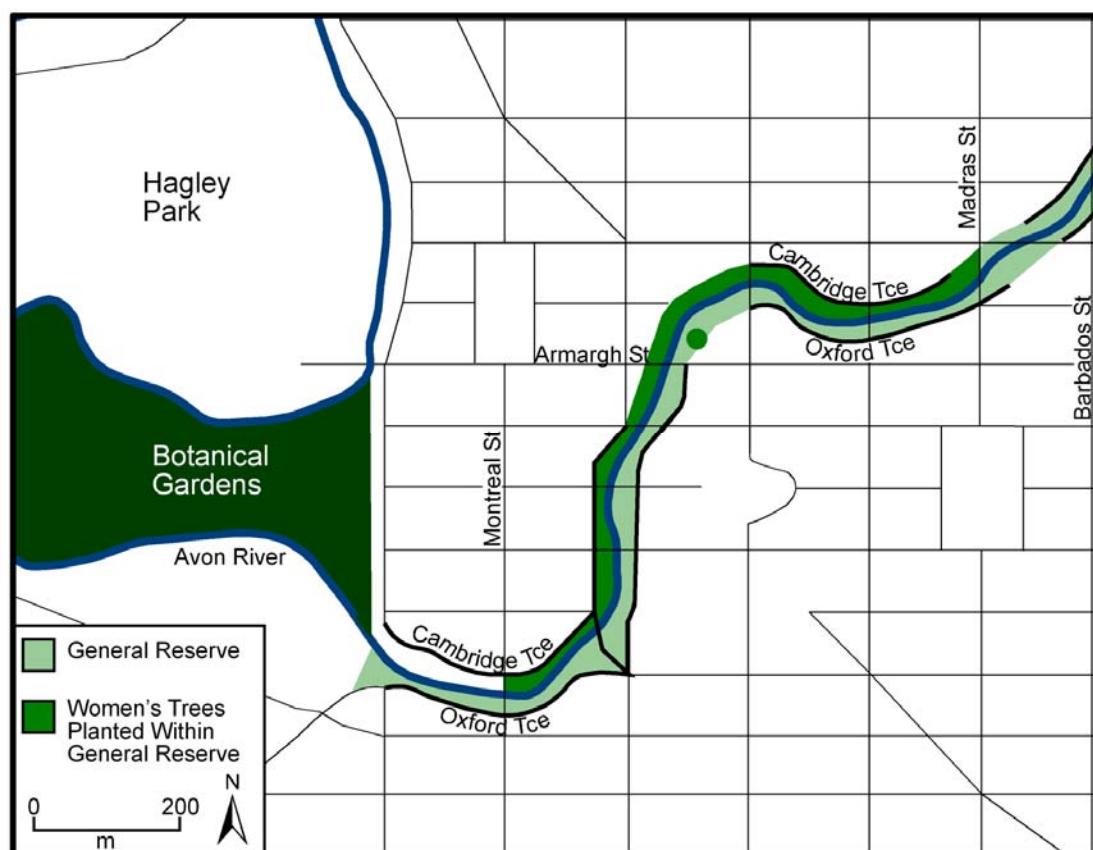


Figure 6.3. Map of the Christchurch Botanic Gardens and the reserves along the banks of the Avon River. The dark green zone is the area in which trees planted by women's organisations are located.

Power and association with power categorize the eight women who have been invited to plant in the Botanic Gardens. Of the 65 commemorative trees planted in the grounds, only ten trees have been planted by women. Queen Elizabeth II (1954, 1963, 1986), Lady Beattie, wife of the Governor-General (1983) and Allison Dowson, World President International Inner Wheel (1988) were invited to plant trees in their own right because of their position. The Queen and Allison Dowson (as head of a service organisation), in this context, can be viewed as honorary men, through holding positions of power that in the past would traditionally have been held by men (Norkunas, 2002). Wives of Governors and Governors-General were invited to plant trees if they were accompanying their husbands. These women were asked by virtue of the position of their husbands and would not have been asked to plant trees as ordinary citizens. Only two of these trees remain. The first, a Cedar of Lebanon, was planted in 1875 by the wife of the Marquis of Normanby, Governor of New Zealand (1875-1879). The Marchioness of Normanby's tree has survived while the oak

planted by the Governor was removed in 1936 (*The Press*, 11/5/1875; 16/6/1938). The second tree was planted by Lady Norrie in 1953. The remaining women were connected with local-level power associated with the Botanic Gardens itself. In the context of Christchurch, the Botanic Gardens is the meeting place of power trajectories and outward looking international connections that have helped to forge the city. The power geometries involved in these connections have been dominated by men. The Christchurch Botanic Gardens' Edwardian style emphasises the British connection through colonial gendered ideals of power.

With the Botanic Gardens now closed to commemorative planting, new locations had to be sought. Halswell Quarry has acted as a new space for public and private commemoration and accommodates civic commemoration reflecting Christchurch's place in a globalised world, via sister city gardens (Clope and Pawson, 2008). Reserves along the banks of the Avon River provided further central city locations. These sites were not available for ongoing planting until 1969 with the planting of the first tree by the New Zealand Federation of Country Girls Clubs. This site presented a new face of Christchurch, one that was embracing the upsurge in the visibility of women's organisations brought about by the women's movement and the fight for women's rights. The appearance of these trees challenged the male-dominated commemorative landscape, and the public/male private/female binary in a way that a few scattered trees to the memory of women did not. In planting these trees the women's organisations contested what constituted acceptable social memory for the marking of place. These trees were not reproducing cultural norms of the time but challenging them. They represented new interpretations of what was becoming culturally normal (Norkunas, 2002). For 30 years the banks of the Avon River have been the principal site in Christchurch for the planting of trees by local and national women's organisations. The banks of the river remained a true female domain until 1976 when it became a shared space with the first local, non-female organisation planting a tree. This site continues to be a shared space in which the local has been celebrated along with the marking of participation in nation-wide and international activities.

Ashburton Domain

The Ashburton Domain is one of two major commemorative sites in Ashburton, the other being Baring Square, east and west. Roche (2008) has noted in his study of the commemorative landscape of Baring Square from 1903 to 1928, that women were noticeably absent from its narrative. By comparison, at the Ashburton Domain, just down the road, women have been conspicuously present and active participants in the narratives of the construction of this particular landscape. The Ashburton Domain has been the hub of civic and community commemorative activity since the first planting on Arbor Day 1892. Since this day local, national and international women, including Queen Elizabeth II (1981), have been active participants in the marking of place through a variety of royal, vice-regal, war, anniversary, memory, and other miscellaneous events. Commemorative tree planting in Ashburton has been a shared responsibility, although women have been involved on more occasions. The Domain has 44 commemorative trees marking 35 separate occasions. Official tree planting has long been accepted as a suitable activity for women in the town. Of the 28 occasions in which the tree planters are known, only one did not involve a woman. Eight mayoresses have planted trees since 1902. Rural women's organisations have been active since 1951, well before the first plantings in New Zealand urban centres associated with the 1970s. This activity has been actively practised by various branches of the Country Women's Institute. Also represented is the Soroptimists International of Ashburton (2001), an urban association for professional and business women. Trees have been planted, some by women, for local and international women: in memory of Florence Nightingale (1910), illustrated in Figure 6.4; Princess Diana, (1997); Mother Teresa (1997); and marking the 100th birthday of the Queen Mother (2000). Because of the association of women with the majority of commemorative trees in the Ashburton Domain, it is very much a shared domain: a place in which women, from very early on, were actively encouraged to participate in a socially acceptable activity.



Figure 6.4. The beech tree planted to the memory of Florence Nightingale in the Ashburton Domain.

Anniversaries

Anniversary trees are the most abundant form of place tree planted and represent the second significant development in the marking of place. The celebration of an anniversary is a time of examining progress but only through reminiscing about the past. It is a nostalgic event which employs the backward gaze to see how far one has come. From the database some of the oldest anniversaries celebrated also provide some of the earliest examples of commemorative trees found and present a stark contrast between older established countries and the young settler colonies. The earliest anniversary trees found date from the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s. Centennial, bicentennial and tercentennial celebrations of place, corporation and military establishment, along with births of such luminaries as Shakespeare, were being

commemorated with trees in British and American towns and cities, decades before the first anniversary planting in New Zealand. During this time much of New Zealand's urban development was still in its frontier stage, attempting to ensure survival. It was not until the mid 1930s that the earliest anniversary trees were planted. This was late not only in terms of British and American trees but also in terms of other commemorative forms and trees already planted for other commemorative purposes in New Zealand. As seen in Table 6.2, trees from a range of other categories had already been established in different places. Places and institutions (local government and school) led the way by celebrating 60th, 70th and 75th anniversary milestones. The celebration of the centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi and of the colonial establishment of New Zealand in 1940 produced widespread planting of trees by a variety of organizations. By this time Australia had celebrated its 150th anniversary (1938) with the planting of 500,000 trees, and the Americans had celebrated the bicentennial of George Washington's birth with a 4-year tree-planting scheme which planted 28 million trees between 1928 and 1932.

From the 1950s onwards in New Zealand an increasing number of organisations participated in tree-planting. Women's organisations set the example and were soon joined by youth and service organisations, to be quickly followed by others, in marking their own particular milestones and as well as other events. During the 1970s numbers began to rapidly increase, with 80% of the anniversary trees listed being planted between 1970 and the early 2000s. Not only were the centenary and 75th anniversaries popular but also the commemoration of increasingly shorter timeframes, namely the 60th, 50th, 40th, and 25th anniversaries and even shorter. For Lowenthal (1998) it is the shortening of these intervals at which groups and communities celebrate the passage of time that is quickening the commemorative pace. Despite the growing popularity of the commemorative tree few groups opted for commemorating more than one milestone in this form. The Country Women's Institute is an exception. The country-wide organisation has been a prolific planter through its numerous branches. The Mid Canterbury branch in particular has readily deployed trees in celebration of multiple milestones and events. The quickening commemorative pace has seen an enhanced proliferation of trees marking locally, nationally and internationally important anniversaries through the participation of an ever expanding range of organisations. This is part of an international trend within

which there has been an enormous expansion in all commemorative forms since the late 1970s, early 1980s.

Commemorative surge from the seventies

Much of this boom in commemoration is associated with an exponential growth in industries connected with “current obsessions with the past” (Lowenthal, 1998:xi). This backward gaze has stimulated an enormous interest in and production of personal and public memory and heritage. Nostalgia has fuelled this interest: people have sought comfort in a known past, set in the context of an uncomfortable present day and an uncertain future. In turn, this interest has led to an explosion in all forms of memorialisation. It has also been expressed through ever increasing attendance at remembrance events such as Memorial Day, Remembrance Day and Anzac Day services honouring war sacrifice and service.

Within this memory surge commemorative tree-planting, as represented in the database, increased threefold from the end of the 1960s to the end of the 1970s. In turn, during the 1980s and the 1990s there was an average of a 50% increase in plantings over the previous decade. Throughout these three decades there has been increased activity in the majority of categories listed in Table 6.1. However, it is commemoration related to anniversaries, events, memory and historical connections which have generated most activity from the 1970s to peak in the 1990s. Major overseas anniversaries and international events were anchored in local landscapes. In Christchurch there are trees to the Xth British Commonwealth Games (1974), the American Bicentennial (1976), the bicentennial of the French Declarations of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1989); the centennial of the declaration of independence of the Philippines (1998). The last three examples were planted by interested groups in Christchurch, highlighting the international scope of the multiple memories employed in the city.

First and Second World War commemorations connecting the local with the international dominated the decade from 1995 to 2005 for many places. As the number of war veterans decline the celebrations of important war milestones increases. The 75th anniversary of Armistice and the 50th anniversary of Victory in Europe and Victory in Japan were commemorated in 1995. No longer content with

marking the significant anniversaries for the end of the wars important Second World War battles have been highlighted. In Dunedin native trees were planted to mark the 60th anniversary of the Battle of Britain (2000); the battle of El Alamein (2002); the battle of the Atlantic (2003); the battle of Cassino (2004); and in 2005 the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War. History of place has become increasingly popular, constructed and presented as place heritage. Anniversaries of place have proved to be significant times for reviewing progress and highlighting founding fathers and early settlers. At the 150th anniversary of Dunedin in 1998, descendants of the early settlers began commemorating the arrival of first fourteen sailing ships which reached Dunedin and Port Chalmers between 1848 and 1851 on their anniversary day from 1998 to 2001, emphasizing one aspect of Dunedin's history with trees. These examples are all exceptional events and provide important international and historical connections. However, it is the less spectacular and more mundane events, anniversaries and memories that populate the landscape, in the celebration of the extraordinary events accumulated through the everyday activities of place.

The changing face of place.

The marking of place through the examples offered above highlights only a few of the flows and interconnections between the local and beyond that have found expression in place. The memory that has been anchored in the landscape has changed over time, particularly as the utilization of commemorative trees extended beyond civic plantings. The development of the commemorative landscape in New Zealand has expressed both the social and commemorative norms of Britain and the United States through the progress of New Zealand as a country.

The last one hundred and fifty years have seen huge societal changes which have been represented in the local landscape. The rise in popularity of the commemorative tree opened up the marking of place to a broader spectrum of a local population more than any other commemorative form. It has also been the one form that has marked the growth of young settler colonies towards maturity. Through this growth the understanding of place has changed. From settler colony to independent nation the construction of place in New Zealand, at the local or national level, has reflected

internal and external forces that have moulded and shaped place, responding to Massey's various trajectories, flows and interconnections. Trees have helped constitute place through their dual roles of marking and making.

In many ways much of the down to earth, locally based, marking of place has been about the ephemeral nature of the moment of the here and now; that is, the marking of occasions that had resonance at the time of planting but beyond that moment, in the course of a few months or years had become part of the past, the memory fading and the trees blending into the broader landscape. As important as many milestones were at the time of their celebration, they became part of an ever growing transient, impermanent memory that, as time passes, act as reminders to little of substance for more and more people. The transformation from memorial tree to treescape of memory is more rapidly realized than perhaps with royal trees as fewer trees tapped into the community-wide collective memory of place (Cloke and Pawson, 2008). At the same time there are a number of unmarked trees commemorating private memory in public places that never emerged from the background of the everyday treescape. Without the outward trappings of physical markers these trees remain silent witnesses to the memories they represent and anonymous among surrounding trees. Commemorative trees marking place have offered the spectacle of celebration and festivity, and the intimacy of private ceremonies, fulfilling the desire to mark occasions, events and people. They have represented a diverse range of multiple memories. As a commemorative form, trees attained sufficient popularity across the decades to have been important markers in the growth of place from frontier to modern city, from Britain of the South to New Zealand. These trees transformed anonymous space to a lived in place, rich, diverse and with histories and memories. The democratisation of memory which the marking of place has brought about, that is the moving of the construction of memory from the provenance of the social elite to the average person, remains a theme of the next chapter. In commemoration of the dead of the First World War the use of trees facilitated the naming of the dead with individual memorials and opened up spaces for multiple personal memories to undermine the official construction of war memory.

Chapter 7

Landscapes of Sorrow: To Honour Their Name

“A tree is a living memorial often more enduring than marble or bronze; a tree is a thing of beauty and of inspiration – a living token of the wonder and glory of nature – a symbol of service – for the life of the tree is a life of service, even the end of life is not the end of a tree’s service; to the contrary, the end of a life opens new fields of service which add immeasurably to our civilization, our culture, and our happiness; therefore, is not a tree a fitting symbol for those valiant men who gave their lives for the service of their country and who died that humanity might continue to live in civilization, in culture, and in happiness?” (letter from Saskatoon IODE (Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire), quoted in Wood, 1997)

Introduction

This chapter combines the themes of empire and place with war and loss, and focuses on memorial avenues as a specific form of memory and commemoration, principally for the First World War. Since the early nineteenth century there has been an evolution in the commemoration of war. It has moved from the celebration of victory and the victors to sorrow and death: gradually there was an acknowledgement of the cost in obtaining the victory, and that cost was finally recognised in the naming of the dead. The democratisation of memory and individualisation of sacrifice was expressed in its most evolved form through memorial avenues of trees, commemorating service and sacrifice of the First World War. The drive to

commemorate came from within communities for whom the experience of war was multiple. Those on the home front, who were ultimately responsible for the erection of war memorials, experienced a totally different war from those in the military. Only through the acceptance of the value of the common soldier and the need to name the dead did memorial avenues as a form of war memorial develop. A particular memory was conceptualised and articulated through the trees and this simultaneously reflected, ignored and contested particular war experiences. To facilitate this argument the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section analyses the evolution in the democratisation of memory and naming the dead through military, social and memorial changes in the periods before and during the First World War. The second section discusses the development of trees as war memorials. The third section examines the literature on memorial avenues and challenges the impression they were principally a particularly antipodean expression. The fourth section presents the construction of the database of examples for this chapter, while the fifth section analyses the memorial avenues through communities' naming of their dead and the construction of memory presented by accounts of preparation and planting of the avenues.

Democratisation of Memory and the Naming of the Dead

The winds of change.

The commemoration of the war dead following the First World War provided the largest and most comprehensive acknowledgement of the cost of the war in terms of human life and the scale of the sacrifice made by individuals, families, communities, regions and nations. Never before had so many personnel been mobilised for military action, involving so many countries with so much at stake – socially, economically and politically. The industrialised nature of the war, the sheer scale of death and social changes demanded recognition of the role, value and sacrifice of all combatants, especially the common soldier. There is no single underlying principle which can be attributed to the greater democratisation of memory and egalitarian nature of the naming of the dead. Rather, it resulted from a convergence of many military and social changes before and during the First World War. This section identifies and discusses these changes on the military front and the home front and assesses the impact of these on the making of memory.

The winds of change on the Military Front

The military underwent considerable structural change in the face of the First World War. The composition of recruits for the British army changed dramatically after the beginning of this new conflict. Wide ranging reforms of the army were carried out after the Crimean War in an attempt to increase the attractiveness of the army to the upper classes, such as the raising of the status of the common soldier, the reduction in the term of service, pay increases and the introduction of military honours (Maclean and Phillips, 1990). Despite this the traditional recruitment grounds for the British regular army remained “semi-literate, unskilled working class youths” until August 1914 (Ferguson, 1998:102). At the outbreak of war and the call for volunteers and later conscripts, recruits came from all classes and all walks of life: “young clerks and artists, students from Oxford and Eton, the sons of peers and the sons of parsons, men of all classes” (Hynes, 1990:28) and still included substantial numbers from the working class. This broad cross section of class and profession was also evident in the volunteers and conscripts from Australia (Beaumont, 2001) and New Zealand (Baker, 1988; Phillips, Boyack and Malone, 1988). No class or profession was, therefore, untouched by the magnitude of death and maiming wrought by the war.

Within the first few months of First World War it became obvious that the last vestiges of the adherence to traditional rules of military engagement had been abandoned. Traditional campaigns had been based on open visibility, mobile armies and short daytime battles using set military formations. This gave way to invisibility, immobility and the static nature of trench warfare. To reduce visibility, colourful distinctive uniforms were replaced with dark camouflaging shades. Attacks were scheduled for low light conditions of dusk and dawn, and front line accommodations were established below ground level (Laqueur, 1994; Kingsley Ward & Gibson, 1995; Stephen, 1997), giving the sensation of an “empty battlefield” (Stephen, 1997:219).

Advances in technology and production changed the face of warfare. Ongoing improvements in existing military technology, the adaptation of civilian technology for military use and innovative experimental technologies saw developments in arms, artillery, ammunition, transport, armoured vehicles, communications and chemical warfare (Ferguson, 1998, Sheffield, 2007). Military tactics evolved to make effective use of these advances (Sheffield, 2007). When combined with the immobile nature

of most of the fighting fronts, landscape and climatic conditions, they created the greatest killing power of the war. This was evident in the number of casualties and fatalities in both major offensives and minor skirmishes, and the overall numbers of men killed in action, and deaths from wounds or disease. It has been estimated that Allied and Central Power total casualties, that is those killed, wounded and taken prisoner, numbered 32,779,826, with total fatalities of 9,450,000. The Empire, not including Britain, suffered 198,000 deaths and 646,850 casualties (Ferguson, 1998). Colonial fatalities included 60,661 Canadians (Swettenham, 1969), 60,000 Australians (Inglis, 1998; Pelvin, 2004) and approximately 18,000 New Zealanders (Maclean and Phillips, 1990).

The winds of change on the Home Front

By the beginning of the First World War the British public had been exposed to sixty years of eye witness accounts from war correspondents. The accurate detailed reports from William Howard Russell of *The Times* of the Crimean War set the standard for subsequent war reporting. These accounts, supported by writings from such individuals as Florence Nightingale, revealed the role, character and predicaments of the common soldier. It was around these accounts that the idea of the common soldier was constructed in popular consciousness. Issues highlighted during the war, such as military mismanagement and incompetence, inconclusive results and high casualty numbers, became regular themes of newspaper reports until the military constraints and censorship of the First World War. Their reality contrasted starkly with the romanticised heroic adventure figure of the 19th century and a romanticised conception of war (Ferguson, 1998; Matthew & Harrison, 2004; Sheffield, 2007; www.bl.uk, accessed 28/5/07). Because of this type of newspaper coverage, the older generations, perhaps more so than the young volunteers and conscripts, understood better the potential dangers that faced the new recruits.

General literacy levels amongst the First World War soldiers of the British Empire exceeded that of any previous soldier population (Hynes, 1990). The Army recognised this and actively encouraged letter writing (Phillips, et al, 1988). Personal communication between front and home was a vital means of keeping in touch for hundreds of thousands of soldiers, families and friends. Massive volumes of correspondence and parcels travelled between home countries and military stations

and the front with remarkable efficiency (Winter and Prost, 2005). During 1916 alone members of the British Armed Forces stationed in France and Belgium were sending on average 5,000,000 letters a week to Britain (Acton, 1999). As long as mail survived crossing the various seas and oceans to reach Britain, the postal service and the military were both quick and proficient at delivering mail to the Front (Fussell, 1975; Stephen, 1997). Correspondence, normally by letter, helped relieve worry and stress, and gave reassurance, hope and optimism (Luckins, 2004). Since the journey to Europe for colonial soldiers was hazardous, the first letters home from Australian and New Zealand soldiers were particularly important (McGibbon, 2007). Like soldiers from many countries New Zealand soldiers wrote to and received from a “vast network of domestic ties” (Laqueur, 1994:160). These networks included parents, siblings, uncles and aunts, parents’ neighbours, friends, and individuals originally unknown to them, such as school children and members of patriotic and other goodwill clubs and societies. The publication of soldiers’ letters in newspapers and journals of home communities familiarized even broader unrelated audiences with individual soldiers (Ziino, 2003). Never before had so many people been directly or indirectly interested in the welfare of a soldier, sailor or nurse involved in war.

The close proximity of Britain to the major battle fields provided a number of opportunities not available in previous conflicts to both the home front and military personnel. Soldiers were able to take leave away from the war zone and travel to England. Many wounded or ill soldiers were repatriated to England for recuperation, enabling family and friends to participate in the recuperation process. There was limited scope for parents of wounded soldiers to travel to France and help with recuperation there (Winter, 1995). At the same time the proximity of the war zone brought Britain physically closer to the front line. The sounds of explosions, especially from Messines, and artillery used in the build up to a major offensive were audible in Surrey, Kent and Sussex. The lights from the explosions at Messines were reported in Kent (Fussell, 1975; Stephen, 1997). Britain’s home front vulnerability was demonstrated during the German naval bombardment of Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby on 16 December 1914 when eighteen people were killed (Pope & Wheal, 1995; www.bl.uk, accessed 28/5/07). Almost three years later a further nineteen people were killed and seventy-one injured in aerial attacks on London and the South East Counties on 4 September, 1917 (Gleichen, Major-General Lord E, 1988; Borg,

1991). These attacks vividly illustrated the ease with which Britain could be incorporated into the battle front.

Winds of change on the Memory Front

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century traditional public war memorials celebrated only victory and victorious leaders, especially in England. Following in the footsteps of the Greeks and Romans, monuments to victory, in the form of arches and tall columns, were raised in prominent public spaces unrelated with the battles. Monuments raised to such victors as Lord Horatio Nelson, the Duke of Wellington and Napoleon were also synonymous with their victorious campaigns. The Crimean War brought a rupture to this practice. No outstanding military performances were recognised amongst the military leaders. This precipitated a shift in the construction of memory away from military leaders towards the common soldier. In fact, by the end of the First World War, some military leaders, such as Haig, were demonised for their perceived incompetence and the loss of life brought about by their decisions (Pugsley, 2007).

Until the Crimean War there was no systematic public acknowledgement of the thousands of individuals that formed the armies and navies that contributed to previous victories or campaigns. Any remembrance of the anonymous was predominantly of officers and undertaken as a private function by family and friends. Commemoration of the war dead was not a function of the military or the community at large. On the battlefields quick basic burial of bodies was undertaken after a battle. If on the march to the next engagement, bodies were left where they fell (Laqueur, 1994). It was during the South African War that the British Government first offered to mark burial sites not already memorialised by family and friends. The first complaints about the conditions of burial and maintenance soon followed. It was not until the First World War that an official programme undertaking the burial of dead soldiers killed in battle was undertaken. An attempt was made to bury soldiers where they died but due to the sheer number of dead they were ultimately buried in cemeteries located within the vicinity of the battle site (Laqueur, 1994; Kingsley Ward and Gibson, 1995). The identification and naming of the bodies became imperative in the proper burial of the dead.

Naming of the dead, while viewed as a predominantly twentieth century phenomenon, has its origins in antiquity. Perhaps the most famous and exceptional example comes from Marathon, Greece and the Great Mound memorial. The ashes of 192 Athenian soldiers, killed in battle against Persian invaders in 490BC, were interred in the mound and their names inscribed on a stele. The mound exemplified the importance of the battle and the Greek dead to the Athenians. The bodies of Athenian soldiers were returned to Athens and accorded state funerals before interment. The war dead were remembered at annual celebrations when their names were inscribed on ten stele and erected as a monument (Borg, 1991). Distinctive as this practice was, the celebration of victory and victorious military leaders, and the anonymity of the vast majority of war dead, remained standard practice.

In the modern era some of the earliest public monuments naming the dead are found in Germany (Calder, 2004). Unlike the British, the Germans had a great deal of experience defending their land from invaders. The common soldier was acknowledged by both church and state. By the end of the 18th century the Protestant church held annual services in which distinguished men who had died in battle were remembered. From the time of the Wars of Liberation (1813-1815, (Clark, 1996)) the war dead were commemorated as part of the normal church service, with particular emphasis being given at Easter (Mosse, 1990). The first monument to list all war dead was erected by King Fredrick Wilhelm II in Frankfurt in 1793. The Hessen monument commemorated the liberation of the city from the French the previous year. It named the twenty-six Hessen officers and seventy-five infantry who died in defence of their country (Laqueur, 1994; <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hessendenkmal>). During the early 1800s a small but growing number of war monuments were erected to commemorate or remember all who had been killed in war, not just the leaders. By the 1860s the status of the common soldier had been raised. Inscription of their names on public war memorials emerged as a particular feature, although the popularity of naming was variable across regions (Mosse, 1990; Schmahl, accessed 8/5/07).

Democratisation of memory and naming the dead emerged in other places, commemorating important events involving violent death. The inclusive nature of this emergent form named all persons who died during a particular event, male and

female, not just men of note, import or title (Laqueur, 1994). Paralleling this development was the physical movement of the monument from private spaces to public spaces (Carrier, 2005), some directly associated with the site of the conflict. In Lucerne, Switzerland, the Lion monument commemorates the memory of the Swiss Guard attacked at the Tuileries Palace in Paris on 10 August 1792 and its members killed in prison massacres on 2 and 3 September. Carved during 1820 and 1821, the monument (Figure 7.1) lists the names of the officers killed and those who survived and estimates the number of soldiers killed and survived (Laqueur, 1994; www.gletschergarten.ch; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swiss_Guard; <http://travelguide.all-about-switzerland.info>). In Paris, 507 names (Pinkney, (1964) says 502 names) of citizens killed during the French Revolution of 1830 were inscribed on the *Colonne de Juillet* or the Column of July, on the *Place de la Bastille* in 1840 (Laqueur, 1994; Pinkney, 1964). In Britain, the first public monument to name the dead is thought to be a plaque inscribed with the names of the 11 dead commemorating the 1819 Peterloo Massacre in Manchester (Laqueur, 1994). The public acknowledgement of individuals who died in events involving the military, whether riot or war, did not keep pace with private memorialisation, particularly in Britain.



Figure 7.1 Lion monument to the Swiss Guard killed in France. Lucerne, Switzerland.

The earliest naming of the British war dead can be found in parish churches and cathedrals throughout Britain, constructing a particular memory of war primarily based on class. Plaques and tablets line the walls as tributes erected by family, friends and colleagues of officers killed or died in the line of duty at various garrisons and stations around the world. The 1860 9th Queens Royal Lancers Memorial, (Figure 7.2) was erected in Exeter Cathedral by the surviving officers and soldiers of Lancers who served in India. The memorial shows the commemorative influence of Crimean War by naming all who died. Inglis (1998:15) described these memorials as “mortuary tributes to individuals who happened to be soldiers”. Table 7.1 illustrates the extent of the British military presence during the nineteenth century, used to protect British political and economic interests throughout the Empire and beyond. During the 1860s alone British troops were reported to be stationed and garrisoned abroad in 22 countries (AJHR, 1870), all of which could have held memorials to the military dead. Prior to the Crimean War, naming of the dead was primarily a private matter. Consequently, recognition of individual cost mainly represented the loss within middle class and families of the landed gentry and seldom crossed the class barrier to represent the losses suffered by the lower classes.

Commemoration of the Crimean War presented a number of changes not previously evident. Firstly, Foster (2004:284) asserts that “Crimean war memorials emphasized the achievements of the army as a whole”, especially since no national heroes emerged from the officer ranks (Yarrington, 1988). Yet many Crimean War memorials found in the United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM) and the Irish War Memorials Project (IWMP) databases challenge Foster’s “army as a whole” assertion. The majority of memorials found in these databases commemorated smaller specific collectives, such as regiments, parishes, schools, counties and neighbourhoods, emphasising specific service and loss. Honour was given to all war dead of these groups. Particularly evident was the emergence of the acknowledgement of the service and sacrifice of the common soldier. Some soldiers were named individually within a collective. Others remained anonymous within a named collective as part of the noncommissioned officers, drummers, privates, soldiers and sailors and men categories used on memorials. The naming of the dead acknowledged the service rendered, the cost paid by individuals, and brought them out from under the shadow of anonymity. The ultimate accolade to the common

soldier can be found on a plaque in the Liverpool Anglican Cathedral raised by public subscription. While the plaque does not list names, it makes due public recognition of the role of the common soldier in the conflict:

Erected by public subscription/ to record the courage, and / endurance displayed by the/ privates of the British Army,/ who at the call of duty, devoted / their lives to maintain the/ honour of their country, and the/ fidelity of England to her allies. ? A.D. 1856 (UKNIWM Ref: 2557).

While this plaque acknowledges all privates who fought in the war in one aspect of service, it renders silent the conditions in which they fought and lived. Without newspaper coverage of the war there would have been little recognition given to common soldiers, their service, qualities and sacrifice.



Figure 7.2. 9th Queens Royal Lancers Memorial, Exeter Cathedral. This memorial was erected in 1860 by surviving officers, non commissioned officers and privates of the Lancers who served with the regiment in India. It commemorates and names comrades who were killed in action, died from wounds or died from effects of the climate. (Source: Professor Eric Pawson)

Table 7.1. Location of British troops during the nineteenth century. (Sources: UKNIWM: AJHR, 1870).

19 th century (UKNIWM)	1860s only (AJHR, 1870)
Afghanistan	West Coast Africa ¹
Borneo	Mauritius
Crete	Ceylon ¹
Crimea	Straits Settlement
Egypt and Sudan	China, and Japan ¹
France	Australia ¹
Greece	New Zealand ²
Malay Peninsula	Canada ¹
Portugal	Nova Scotia
Spain	Newfoundland
Waterloo (present day Belgium)	New Brunswick
North America	British Columbia ¹
South Africa	Bermuda
	Jamaica ¹
	Windward and Leeward Islands
	Faulkland Islands
	Bengal ³
	Bombay ^{1, 3}
	Madras ³
	Abyssinia ¹

1 Memorial entries also found on United Kingdom National Inventory of War Memorials (UKNIWM). (www.ukniwm.org.uk)

2 Memorials to the New Zealand wars are found in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin and Killurin Church, Killurin, Co. Wexford. (www.irishwarmemorials.ie)

3 Many of the entries for conflicts in India are listed under the name of the battle or the place or site where the person died.

Changes were also underway in the groups of people erecting memorials, the location of memorials and the method of funding. Recognition of the dead, while remaining the domain of private memorialisation, began to be undertaken by a range of groups and institutions outside the immediate family circle, such as towns, parishes, regiments and schools. These institutions began acknowledging the sacrifice of their own members, with many groups still choosing to erect their memorials in the traditional location of the church. Some groups chose to locate their memorials in outdoor public space. Outdoor locations brought the war dead into the public gaze instead of hidden away behind the closed doors of the church. Some memorials were funerary monuments. Others combined specific loss with the latest innovations in statuary and commemorative features popular in beautifying public spaces in British cities of the time. The placement of war memorials in outdoor locations extended the repertoire of acceptable subjects and themes in public spaces as statues of political

figures had during the eighteenth century (Smith, 2001). Funding of war memorials turned to popular methods used for public monuments, namely that of subscription. Funds were either raised privately from within the group, or publicly from the broader community. Despite this democratic broadening of memory and naming of the dead, recognition of service and loss remained unequal and distinguishable by rank until the First World War. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the common soldier on the war memorials showed recognition of shared, if not equality in, sacrifice.

The commemoration of this war contrasted sharply with that of any previous conflict. In doing so there was constructed a new representation of war and remembrance, one centred around inclusively rather than exclusivity. Through the democratisation of memory, the service of the officers and soldiers who fought was brought to the fore and given prominence. Virtues of ‘valour and devotedness’, “courage and endurance” were honoured (UKNIWM Ref: 44345; 2557). Because of newspaper coverage of the war and the conditions under which it was fought, this memory was constructed with the assistance of an informed public. At the same time this construction promoted and retained a much purified memory. The new innovations in commemoration, that of acknowledging the cost, in some cases naming the dead and to a certain degree, the framing of memory through inscription, set a precedent and provided a platform for all subsequent war monumental memorialisation.

The South African War was the first official conflict in which New Zealand and Australia contributed troops that fought and died under the British banner. Overall losses were comparatively few with more men dying from disease than in combat. To the home front these losses were significant (Maclean & Phillips, 1990; Nolan, 2007). In comparison to the First World War, the South African War was a minor conflict. Fighting was highly mobile but unconventionally fought (McGibbon, 2007) with irregular warfare more suited to the New Zealanders and Australians than the British (Belich, 2001). Memorialisation immortalised the sentiments of the time in stone, reflecting imperialistic fervour rather than victory, sorrow or loss. Loss and sorrow were not neglected amongst the up-welling of “national pride and imperial loyalty” (Maclean & Phillips, 1990:48). The innovations made in memorialising of the war dead of the Crimean War were consolidated further in the commemoration of the South African War. Communities took public ownership of their losses and honoured

their dead by listing their names on memorials, in rank order. Inglis (1998) noted that approximately 25 percent of Australian memorials recorded the names of the survivors as well as those who died. This was a departure from the growing British tradition of honouring only the dead by name, one to be repeated in the Australian memorialisation of the First World War.

Changes in commemorative practices on the battlefields of war were also slow to occur. During and after the Crimea war little had altered in the treatment of the dead from previous wars and conflicts. Anonymity remained the norm with most of the dead buried in unmarked graves across the battlefields (Laqueur, 1994). In some instances regimental memorials were raised to commemorate their dead at sites of battles (Inglis, 1988). Of the soldiers and officers who died from disease or wounds some were buried under monuments in the towns in which they died (IWMP, #127). Little effort was made to officially identify bodies and burial places (Laqueur, 1994). The mobile nature of the South African War impacted on the ability to effectively bury the dead. When time allowed, the dead received proper burials and were marked with as durable a marker as possible. For the bodies of others time only allowed for rudimentary burials. If burial sites were subsequently located the bodies were exhumed and re-buried in civic cemeteries. The London War Office sent out thousands of crosses as permanent markers for the graves of the dead soldiers. This was an unprecedented move in the recognition of the common soldier on the part of the British government (Inglis, 1998). Laqueur (1994) argues that this was an afterthought rather than a magnanimous offer to grieving families, as in a number of instances privately funded memorials had already been raised. Despite this move by the British Government, they turned down a number of requests for the consolidation of the war dead into war cemeteries for ease of recognition and maintenance. Whilst the dead soldiers received an unprecedented level of recognition from the government for their sacrifice, their bodies remained scattered across the landscape in civil and makeshift cemeteries making their maintenance unfeasible (Laqueur, 1994; Inglis, 1998).

The static nature of the First World War front lines and the sheer volume of the dead on the battlefields meant that bodies could not be ignored nor buried where they fell. The living were literally fighting on top of and in amongst the bodies of the dead. At

the start of the war the Army had no regulations for noting the location of buried bodies or maintaining burial sites. Fabian Ware, as commander of British Red Cross Society Mobile Unit, personally undertook the recording of the positions of graves and the names of the dead. He negotiated with the Red Cross for a Mobile Unit to undertake the role of recording of graves to assist the Red Cross in locating missing soldiers. Concerns were raised with the Army about growing public demands over war graves and their maintenance. In response the Graves Registration Commission was established in March 1915 and charged with the location, registration, and marking of temporary graves. After the war, the Commission would be responsible for the establishment, relocation, marking and maintenance of permanent graves in war cemeteries (Ward & Gibson, 1995). Soon after the establishment of the Commission General Haig noted the value of the work to be undertaken by the Commission:

It is fully recognized that the work of the organization is of purely sentimental value, and that it does not directly contribute to the successful termination of the war. It has, however, an extraordinary moral value to the troops as well as the relatives and friends of the dead at home. ... Further, on the termination of hostilities, the nation will demand an account from the government as to the steps which have been taken to mark and classify the brutal places of the dead ... (cited in Ward & Gibson, 1995:45).

The work of the Commission became especially important when in April 1915 the Adjutant-General ordered that no bodies of Imperial soldiers would be exhumed or repatriated, citing hygiene concerns and “on account of the difficulties of treating impartially the claims advanced by persons of different social standing” (cited in Ward & Gibson, 1995:45). This meant that all families of the war dead would be treated the same, removing any discrimination based on class, contacts and ability to pay, particularly since so many dead were never located or identified (Mosse, 1990). Nor was there sufficient manpower or logistical support for such an operation (Hanson, 2006). This decision facilitated a further move toward a full democratic memory based on equality of sacrifice. For the first time the corporeal body of the dead was valued.

A great deal of effort was expended by the staff of the Graves Registration Commission on the identification of bodies in an attempt to bury as many as possible with names. With the establishment of War cemeteries identified bodies were given

individual name-bearing headstones. Unidentified bodies were buried in separate graves with headstones saying 'Known unto God', and together with those never found, were named on great memorials for the missing (Ward & Gibson, 1995:68). Hundreds of thousands of men were killed in the devastated landscapes of this industrialised war, which maimed and disintegrated not only human bodies but also the corporal bodies of countless trees. It is ironic that the individualisation of memorialisation, predicated on service and/or sacrifice of the individual and not on the identification of a body, was to be repeated in the planting of thousands of memorial trees.

War Trees

Trees as War Memorials

In comparison to the volume of literature written on war memorials and memorialisation in general, very little has been written on the use of trees in commemorating war. This is in contrast to the thousands of memorial trees planted during and after the First World War. At the time of the "historically unprecedented planting of names on the landscape of battle" (Laqueur, 1994:153) in makeshift and permanent cemeteries and war memorials of the Western Front, the planting of trees bearing the names of the war dead was being undertaken in the everyday landscapes of the home towns, villages and cities of the dead. Since in many cases there was no body to bury, no gravestone to erect, the planting of the trees became an act of substitution, a tree for an actual grave (Mosse, 1990). For many, the planting of a tree was both a private marking of a personal loss and public acknowledgement of the loss to the community as a whole; for some a cathartic act, for others the final loss of hope and acceptance of the death (Dargavel, 2000; Luckins, 2004).

Trees as war memorials took a diverse number of forms. They were planted in various configurations, as individual trees, small groups, groves, orchards, and forests, in single lines, avenues and around objects, for which there were numerous plantings in many Western countries. However, the modern practice of using trees for memorialising war dead pre-dates the First World War, in some cases by several decades. The Italian park of remembrance and the German heroes' groves are thought to have their origins in the park cemetery (Mosse, 1990). The Parco della Rimembranza or Park of Remembrance in Rome was designed in 1865 as a memorial

to the men who died fighting for the unification of Italy. A forest of trees was planted with each tree bearing the name of a dead soldier (Mosse, 1990). After the First World War parks of remembrance were once again used as memorials to the dead. In Rome a park was established on the grounds of an historic villa on the banks of the Tiber River. Seven thousand Italian trees were planted and combined with a stone altar and other antiquities to form a “unique memorial to the fallen”, one of three memorials across the city honouring the sons of Rome who died (Van Buren, 1929:9). Parks of remembrance were established in other Italian cities, for example Sienna, where 41 Holm oak trees were planted to symbolize each soldier wounded during the war (www.comune.cerverteri.rm.it) and Trieste (www.escapeartist.com).

In Germany trees planted for German war dead took the form of *heldenhaine*, or heroes’ groves. As in the Parco della Rimembranza, the trees were to take the place of actual graves. The idea of the *heldenhaine* was proposed in 1914 by Willy Lange, a landscape architect, and given political approval the following year. Lange proposed the use of the oak tree. The trees within a *heldenhaine* were typically planted in a semicircle, either to individual soldiers or a group. At the centre was an “oak of peace” or some other modest monument calling on the visitor to remember. The oak was highly symbolic within German culture. This memorial form drew upon the specific association of strength, both individual and communal. In a broader context of the German understanding of nature, the symbolism of the tree and the wood also drew on themes of innocence, eternal life, and historical continuity (Mosse, 1990). According to Mosse, (1990) *heldenhaines*, and trees in general, were popular forms of commemoration. A unique tree memorial is located on a hill near Burgbernheim in northern Bavaria. Sixty four oak trees were planted in the shape of an Iron Cross to the memory of German First World War soldiers (Walden, www.thirdreichruins.com). The reference to the Iron Cross added another layer of symbolic meaning to the memorial, implying the men had died rendering distinguished service to their country (Brown, 1993).

The idea of avenues as commemorative features is also not without its own precedents, both in antiquity and in modern times. The provenance of avenues as landscape features began during the Renaissance as a French adaptation of an Italian garden *allée*, an *allée* being a pathway lined with trees (Lawrence, 1988). During the

1500s the French began planting trees along major rural roads. By the end of the following century the avenues had reached the periphery of urban settlements, providing grand entrances to cities, palaces, hospitals and other important buildings (Lawrence, 1988; Darin, 2004). In contrast, by the early seventeenth century in Britain, the avenue was a “recognised aristocratic symbol”, used in country estates to create grand vistas and impressive tree-lined driveways to guide visitors to equally impressive country houses. Extending out across the landscape they were symbols of wealth, status and “deliberate assertions of ownership” (Thomas, 1983:207, 208). Nineteenth century urban revitalization was defined by Haussmann’s regeneration of the heart of Paris, “cutting through the existing urban fabric” with grand and broad boulevards and tree-lined avenues (Darin, 2004:144). This approach to urban design influenced the urban planning of towns and cities across Europe, America, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Avenues of trees were planted in botanic gardens and parks, while trees were planted along streets to beautify existing and new ones alike. By the late 1910s and 1920s many towns in Australia and New Zealand were still underdeveloped in terms of public amenity and beautification. Therefore, the planting of trees in avenues for commemorative purposes was an economically attractive, efficient and convenient idea for achieving both memorialisation and vegetative enhancement.

Avenues

There is limited work on the specific form of the memorial avenue as a war memorial. Janine Haddow’s 1987 study of war memorial avenues in the state of Victoria was the first such study to focus exclusively on what was deemed a relatively minor form of war commemoration in Australia. Called ‘Avenues of Honour’, Haddow identified 128 avenues, of which only 52 were still in existence. At the time Haddow was unable to find any examples of these avenues in New Zealand, Britain and the United States of America or any literature to indicate that examples of this phenomenon existed elsewhere, which led her to conclude that they were “peculiar” to Australia (Haddow, 1987:73). Inglis (1998:156) later described them as “indigenous”. In Britain little was known about memorial avenues. It was presumed that none existed because “the possibility of a tree dying which bore a soldier’s name was considered too traumatic for families” (Jay Appleton, cited in Haddow, 1987:48). Haddow’s conclusion that avenues of honour were peculiar to Australia was correct in one sense

as the term was not used anywhere else. However, this method of commemoration was not unique to Australia and subsequent literature has demonstrated that memorial avenues were planted, identified under various names, in New Zealand (Ross, 1994; Pawson, 2004) and Canada (Fulton, 1996; Lanken, 1997). Searches of alternative resources, especially the internet, have revealed that memorial avenues were also planted in Great Britain, United States of America, and Italy. While some interest in memorial avenues has been shown in other countries the literature remains focussed on Australia (Haddow, 1987, 1988a, 1988b; Wycherley 1994; Dargarvel, 1999, 2000; Richards, 2003; Cockerell, 2004; Stephens, 2008).

Haddow (1987) conceded that it is unclear who introduced the idea of using avenues of trees to memorialise the war dead. In Australia, by the time of the First World War, memorial avenues had already been planted to commemorate the South African war. Gough (1993:89) points to the emergence of the idea of a memorial avenue from the trenches and destruction of the Western Front:

... the avenue was considered, by some combatants, to be the most fitting memorial to fallen comrades. Writer and officer Alexander Douglas Gillespie wrote from the trenches in 1916 that when the war was ended the governments of France and England should construct one long avenue between the lines from the Vosges to the sea. 'It would,' he argued 'make a fine broad road on the 'No Man's Land' between the lines, with paths for pilgrims on foot, and plant trees for shade, and fruit trees so that the soils should not be altogether wasted'.

In the context of Australia the name most commonly associated with avenues of honour has been that of Mrs Thompson and the 'Lucas' Girls' in relation to the First World War Avenue of Honour at Ballarat. The avenue was a patriotic gesture in support of the government and volunteerism. Planting of 500 trees in honour of the first 500 enlistments in Ballarat took place in June 1917. This was followed by the establishment of a small number of avenues planted by other public bodies within the locality. The active promotion of the 'avenue of honour' concept was undertaken by the Victorian State Recruitment Committee. Dargarvel (1999) suggests that the State recruiting committee saw value in a comment made by a retired officer at the September 1917 planting of the Ballarat avenue, about the cheering effect the knowledge of the Ballarat avenue would have on the "boys at the front" (*Ballarat Courier*, 3/9/1917; cited in Dargarvel, 1999:41). Seeing the potential of the memorial avenue as a potent recruitment aid, the committee recommended to all local

governments in the state that “an assurance should be given to every intending recruit that ‘his name will be memorialised in an AVENUE OF HONOUR’” (Inglis, 1998:156). The Ballarat avenue of honour set the example from which many other Victorian avenues took their lead. Although the Ballarat avenue is the best known of Australia’s avenues it was not the first avenue planted during the war to commemorate enlisted men or the war dead. By June 1917 planting had already commenced in Eumundi, Queensland, where it is thought that it may have started as early as 1914 (Cockerell, 2004) and in Laurieton, near Port Macquarie, New South Wales, where pines and camphor laurels were planted in August 1916 as a living memorial to those fighting at the Front (Dargarvel, 2000).

In New Zealand, Dr Alexander Douglas was the first to present a proposal for planting memorial trees in honour of the war dead. Dr Douglas was president of the Oamaru Beautifying Society which was involved in town beautification projects and had already planted trees for commemorative purposes. A tree was planted in memory of the Antarctic heroes, Captain Robert Falcon Scott, Dr Edward Wilson, Lieutenant Henry Bowers, Captain Titus Oates and Petty Officer Edgar Evans, marking the day news of their deaths was received in Oamaru from the expedition’s supply vessel, the *Terra Nova* in February 1913. According to Douglas (2004) this was the example that provided Dr Douglas with the inspiration for his proposal. In Britain the idea was introduced and initially promoted by an organisation called The Roads of Remembrance Association who advocated the planting of memorial trees along new roads and highways (*The Times*, 7/6/1919). Fulton (1996), writing on Canadian avenues, traced the passage of the idea from Britain to Canada. In America a scheme for honouring the city of Cleveland’s war dead, whereby an oak tree would be planted for each Clevelander who died, was advocated during July and August of 1918. Approximately 262 trees were planted along Liberty Row Boulevard. The American forestry Association approved of the move and called on cities across the nation to follow Cleveland’s lead. This was followed by an announcement on Armistice Day, 11 November, 1918, by Charles Park, chairman of the American Forest Association board, advocating to everyone the use of trees for honouring their “heroic dead” (Robbins, 2003, www.americanforests.org).

The concept of an avenue of trees as a war memorial competed with a wide range of other possibilities that were available for communities to choose from. In New Zealand there was much initial support at the local level for utilitarian memorials, as most communities would have benefited from infrastructure, such as community buildings and parks. Concern over the potential inappropriateness of this preference and support for traditional aesthetic monuments was expressed at the highest government level. At the first New Zealand Town-planning Conference and Exhibition in May 1919 Mr W. H. Montgomery gave a discussion paper in support of Sir James Allen's (Minister of Defence and acting Prime Minister) call for serious consideration of aesthetic memorials. Mr Montgomery recommended that those contemplating erecting a memorial should consider their prospective choice "with the vision of those who lived 100 years hence". The memorial should "express the emotion of the present, the memory of the past, and be an inspiration for the future" (Montgomery, 1919:165). Ultimately, the rhetoric on aesthetic memorials discredited the use of utilitarian monuments and few were constructed (Maclean & Phillips, 1990). Similar debates were held in Australia and the United States. Advocates of living memorials argued that traditional stone memorials were inadequate for the task of paying tribute to the war dead. Nor did they fulfil their function as repositories of memory. Only a new form of memorial could effectively serve as a memorial (Inglis, 1998; Shanken, 2002). Aesthetic rhetoric did not dominate as effectively in Australia and the United States resulting in a greater proportion of utilitarian monuments. For some communities the memorial avenue provided an acceptable balance, a hybrid straddling the two opposing debates having both memorial and utilitarian characteristics (Inglis, 1998).

Memorial avenues were not always seen as robust enough to perpetuate the memory of their war dead into the future. At Cheltenham, Australia, it was suggested that after the war a stone monument be erected to record the contribution of the men of the town (<http://localhistory.kingston.vic.gov.au>). In the case of the North Otago memorial oaks in New Zealand, the *ODT* ran an editorial describing Dr Douglas's proposal for a tree memorial, supporting the planting of trees over the erection of a stone monument. In full support of Dr Douglas's memorial trees proposal the *Oamaru Mail* (5/11/1918) ran an extract from a Victorian newspaper describing the proceedings of the Ballarat avenue of honour. However, an editorial five weeks later

implied that while the memorial trees were admirable they were not sufficiently 'suitable and permanent' to perpetuate the memory of the war dead. The editorial considered

“it ought not be concluded that the planting of memorial trees will be the only means of perpetuation of the memory of our fallen soldiers and marking the nation's appreciation of their services and sacrifices. There must and will be some other form of memorial of a suitable and permanent character - something that will carry down through the coming ages remembrance of the stupendous struggle for liberty and the services nobly rendered to the cause by the young men of the present generation” (*Oamaru Mail*, 16/12/1918)

Seven years later a stone stela with bronze statuary was erected to the men of the town and district acknowledging their sacrifice but not naming the dead.

A wide variety of groups were involved in the promotion and circulation of information on and the establishment of memorial avenues. Table 7.2 presents organisations compiled from newspapers, journals and academic literature. In contrast with previous literature, Table 7.2 shows that there were a diverse number of groups in at least five countries active in the promotion of the idea. The idea of memorial avenues fitted well in a post-war period of great social readjustment, infrastructure construction and amenity enhancement. It also complemented the philosophies of civic and philanthropic organisations, patriotic and returned servicemen's associations, charitable societies, municipal authorities, road associations and tree-planting groups who undertook its promotion. This was also an idea actively promoted and instigated by women's groups. In Saskatoon, Canada, the Military Chapter of the local Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire recommended the idea of a Road of Remembrance to the city council and was involved in its development and planting (Fulton, 1996). The Women's Club of Cowra, Australia, initiated the Cowra avenue of honour and obtained the trees (Fitzgerald, c2002). The Women's Club of York, Pennsylvania, USA, worked for two years on the Lincoln Highway Road of Remembrance to bring it to fruition (American Forestry, 1922). Many women were involved in some way in the organisation and implementation of memorial avenues as part of women's groups and committees or voluntary labour. In the case of the avenue between Beaconfield and Berwick, Australia, Miss Ada Armytage alone was responsible for its existence (City of Casey, 2001).

Table 7.2. A sample of Organisations promoting and circulating information about memorial avenues.

Country	Organisation
Australia	Victorian State Recruitment Committee Australian Native Associations Progressive Associations Women's groups
Britain	Roads of Remembrance Association King's Highway International Congress of Women Roads of Remembrance Committee of the Roads Beautifying Association Green Cross Society
United States of America	American Forestry Association American Civic Association American Legion Daughters of the American Revolution Grand Army of the Republic American Trees Association Tribute Tree Association Garden Groups
Canada	Daughters of the Empire Canadian Municipal Journal Women's Canadian Clubs Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire Great War Veterans Association British Empire Service League Rotary Kiwanis Chambers of Commerce Good Roads associations Vancouver Sun
New Zealand	<i>Otago Daily Times</i> <i>Oamaru Mail</i>

(Sources: For the Australian information - Inglis, 1998; Britain - *The Times*, 7/6/1919, 12/12/1928, Fulton, 1996, *New York Times*, 15/5/1931; USA - Fulton, 1996, American Forestry Association; Canada - Fulton, 1996, Shipley, 1987; New Zealand - *Otago Daily Times*, *Oamaru Mail*)

Several surveys of war memorials have identified the existence of memorial avenues. An Australian countrywide survey of war memorials carried out during 1920 and 1921 identified at least 123 avenues. Of these 123 avenues, a total of 92, by far the greatest number, were in the state of Victoria (Cockerell, 2004). Haddow's 1987 study found reference to 140 avenues, 128 of them commemorating the First World War (Haddow, 1988b). In 2004 TREENET presented results from a preliminary investigation on memorial avenues. Their survey found 184 avenues country wide,

109 of which were in Victoria (Cockerell, 2004). Surveys of Australian and New Zealand war memorials undertaken by Inglis and Phillips (1991) showed that approximately 30% of Australia's 1455 First World War memorials were of an utilitarian nature (for example, hall, clock, hospital, avenue/park). In New Zealand the equivalent figure is about 8%. Inglis and Phillips' typology did not provide a separate category for memorial avenues, instead combining the avenues with parks. Together this category represented 4% of war memorials in Australia and only 0.3% in New Zealand. In Britain, the UKNIWM database, as at 29 June 2007, held 37015 First World War entries, of which only 58 were categorised as 'trees or avenues'. These surveys have been relatively comprehensive. With TREENET and UKNIWM databases as works in progress, it has still been possible to identify further examples from other sources, including the internet.

Constructing a database

For the purposes of this research a comprehensive database of 402 avenues covers all conflicts from the South African war onwards. The database was constructed from the aforementioned surveys, databases and a broader range of other sources; including academic literature, council records, newspaper reports, various council and society meeting minutes and internet web sites. These are identified in the discussion that follows. Since information on an increasing number of avenues becomes available each year, especially on the internet, this database can only be seen as representative of information available at present which may be added to in the future. The category of "avenue" encompasses a range of terms and forms. For this research an avenue includes single rows of trees, memorial avenues, avenues of honour, avenues of remembrance, roads of remembrance and other variations on this theme. A copy of the database can be found in Appendix 1.

The database is dominated by Australian entries. Table 7.3 shows that they represent 79% of the sample. This reflects the volume of information available in both academic literature and on the internet. The internet is a growing source of information as an increasing number of communities are taking greater interest in their local histories, especially in the area of war memorials. Of the 317 Australian avenues planted, 60% or 192 avenues were planted in the state of Victoria, indicating

the extent to which the Victorians embraced the idea. Table 7.4 shows the number of avenues found in each state in Australia demonstrating that the avenue of honour concept was employed in all but one state, the Northern Territories.

Table 7.3. Figures of memorial avenues found in each country.

Country	Number of Avenues
Australia	317
United States of America	28
Great Britain	28
New Zealand	18
Canada	9
Italy	2
Total	402

Table 7.4. Figures of memorial avenues for each state in Australia.

State	Number of Avenues
Victoria	192
Tasmania	35
Queensland	28
New South Wales (NSW)	23
Western Australia	18
South Australia	16
ACT	1
Unknown	3
Shared (between NSW & ACT)	1
Total	317

British and American examples each represent 7% of the sample. The British examples came from two archival resources, *The Times* and the UKNIWM. The UKNIWM is a register of war memorials collected by community volunteers in which standard stone memorials are likely to be over-represented owing to their ease of identification in the landscape. Both sources were searched using electronic search engines. The results from each source presented different examples with only a small number appearing in both archives. *The Times* Digital Archive indicated that memorial trees commemorating a range of events were popular before the war, the first report appearing in 1858. It could be possible that this sample may only represent a small part of those actually planted. The American sample is small, with most of the entries being found in a single newspaper archive, *The New York Times*. After the First World War there were continual calls from the American Forestry

Association, in both the newspaper and through their monthly magazine, *American Forestry*, to plant memorial trees and to register their planting on the Association's National Honor Roll of Memorial Trees (a sample list of articles can be found on www.lincoln-highway-museum.org). The planting mentality was well established during the war with the establishment of a war gardens movement. It has been estimated that three million war gardens were planted during the war to help with domestic food production (*New York Times*, 15/6/1937). From the efforts of both the war garden movement and American Forestry, it would therefore be expected that this sample represents only a fraction of the possible hundreds of memorial avenues planted across the entire country.

New Zealand, Canada and Italy represent 4.5, 2 and 0.5 percent of memorial avenues in the database respectively. The recorded New Zealand and Canadian memorial avenues represent a very small proportion of war memorials erected. It is possible that there are more to be found. The sample of two for Italy is understated. Two letters appearing in *The Times* described memorial avenues as common on the roadsides in and near villages and towns. In one case memorial trees were planted in a similar configuration to the German *heldenhaine* (*The Times*, 11/12/1924; 13/2/1926). This was quite possible as Stephens (2008) indicates that German *Heldenhaines* were planned for Austria, France and Italy. More trees have been deployed as war memorials than the current literature would suggest.

Table 7.5 represents the number of avenues planted to commemorate the various wars and conflicts from the South African War (1899 – 1902) through to the present. The categories 'WWI plus additions' and 'WWII plus additions' indicate avenues that were extended to incorporate a subsequent war or conflict. As Table 7.5 indicates, memorial avenues were at their height of popularity when commemorating the First World War, representing 74% of the sample. Of this, 77% or 228 avenues were planted in Australia. After the Second World War there was a marked decrease in the number of avenues planted. Twenty one communities chose to extend existing avenues while 43 planted new ones. Only a small number of avenues have been planted to commemorate the conflicts of the last half of the twentieth century. Out of a sample of 402, 40 avenues or 10 per cent had no information identifying which war was being commemorated, 95% of these being in Australia. In these cases the

information has been lost or has not yet been uncovered. Across the database there is limited information for the majority of memorial avenues.

From the information collected on memorial avenues the findings collated in the database highlight a considerable amount of variation in both the amount and type of information available. It is easy for inaccuracies to be introduced and subsequently replicated by other sources when errors were made in source material. Findings also reveal the extent of avenue planting which was more widespread than sources to date have implied. The amount of data available per site varied substantially across the sample. Information was available in different combinations and varied from minimal to extensive. Typical information could identify the conflict, location, tree species, number of trees planted, who the trees were planted for and by whom. Only 125 avenues or 31% of entries had fuller information covering many of the categories listed above. Detailed stories were available for only a small number of avenues. As a result, detailed analysis is not possible; nevertheless a number of observations can be made.

Table 7.5. Conflicts for which memorials avenues were planted.

War	Number of avenues All Countries	Number of avenues Australia
South African War	2	2
WWI	276	210
WWI plus additions	21	18
WWII	43	33
WWII plus additions	3	2
Korea	1	0
Vietnam	4	4
Korea & Vietnam	2	2
All 20 th century conflicts	6	4
Other	4	4
Conflict not specified	40	38
Total	402	317

There is a great deal of variation amongst the memorial avenues. This variation reflects the choices made by individual communities in answer to questions of when to plant, location, for whom the avenue was to be planted, who planted the trees, signage and ceremony, as seen in Table 7.6. These aspects are an elaboration of those considered by Haddow (1987). In addition, variations can be found at the level

of democratisation of memory represented by the avenues; that is, the avenue may not represent everyone from the town or district that enlisted or died. This is apparent in the way names of the enlisted or the dead were gathered or in the way avenues were funded. This may not have been evident to Haddow in the Victorian avenues of honour. Each choice provided the frame in which the memory of and about the men and women commemorated was constructed. The boldest step was to commemorate each person with a separate, distinct, individual memorial.

Table 7.6. Possible choices made by avenue planting communities.

When	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted before end of the war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted after the war
Where	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central location 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • peripheral location eg acts as entrance to town
For whom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted for enlisted men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted for those who died
By whom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted by family/relatives/friends/community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted by the local Council or their delegated representatives
What species	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted in a single species, one or more varieties • Native 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planted with multiple species • Exotic
Naming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each tree given a name plate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No trees named, use of a dedicatory stone listing names, or no names listed at all
Ceremony	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planting of tree • Official with dignitaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dedication ceremony only • Unofficial
Funding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fundraising, donation • Local government funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Subscription: cost per tree paid by family or relatives

Analysing memorial avenues

Avenues:

The avenue and its trees served multiple functions. Their primary function was to perpetuate the memory of the service and sacrifice of the men and women who served for future generations by keeping “green” their memory. This role was repeatedly expressed at every ceremony. How the avenues and their trees were to be symbolically understood was framed, in many cases, by the speakers at the ceremonies. In doing so some speakers inscribed the trees with the ideals of service,

others used tree imagery. In Australia, the Premier of Tasmania, the Honourable W. H. Lee, spoke at the planting of the trees at Bothwell commemorating the devotion and loyalty of those who served (*The Mercury*, 4/7/1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au (Bothwell)). At Longford the Premier considered that the planting of trees was a more appropriate way of perpetuating the memory of those who enlisted (*Weekly Courier*, 29/8/1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au (Longford)). Lieutenant E. E. Jones described the trees as “emblems of their sacrifice. The lives of many were ended, but in giving their lives they had planted the tree of freedom” (*The Mercury*, 4/7/1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au (Bothwell)). A similar sentiment was echoed in the Hon. Matthew Burgh’s speech at the final planting at Ballarat:

[f]or many generations to come the avenue would serve as an inspiration to even greater deeds of nobility for which men were immortalised. The deeds of our soldiers were in themselves immortal, and the trees would serve as a reminder to the rising generation of the immortality of those they represent (*Ballarat Star*, 18/8/1919).

In Hobart, the Chief Justice, Sir Herbert Nicholls, spoke of the maturing nature of the avenue, “as the trees to be planted gradually grow up, perpetuating the memory of the men who were once like strong young trees, they will remind us of those heroic patriots, whose bones are now lying on foreign shores” (*The Mercury*, 5/8/1918). Understanding the capricious nature of collective memory and civic commemoration, Mr C. D. Block, in Boorookpi, Victoria, saw the memorial avenue as a practical way of showing appreciation to local soldiers for their service. It was in years to come when the “fickle human mind would fast let these services sink into oblivion, in Boorookpi towering evergreens would stand aloft in their dignity, forcibly recalling to all the aged and strikingly teaching the young the spirit of the times in which they were planted” (*West Wimmera Mail*, 9/9/1918). This burden of memory was expected to be carried by the trees and their mnemonic role was no less than that of stone memorials and monuments. Allegorical language linked the soldiers and the trees. Although this language was symbolic there was little mention of traditional or Christian symbolism of trees in the official framing of the avenue. This also highlights the absence of a religious component to planting and dedication ceremonies, further suggesting that avenues were particularly appropriate for secular places.

The avenues also fulfilled other roles. They satisfied an important aesthetic function through ornamentation and beautification since limited landscaping work had been carried out in many colonial communities (Richards, 2003). Some dignitaries at planting and dedicatory ceremonies made this link. Senator Pearce, the Minister of Defence, commented on the beautifying role of the avenues when speaking at Ballarat, Victoria, on 18 August, 1917 (*Ballarat Star*, 20/8/1917). At the dedication for the Euroa Avenue of Honour, Victoria, Major McCormack, the chairman of the County Roads Boards, congratulated the promoters on their “wonderful vision, not only was it a memorial avenue but a beautification movement as well” (*The Age*, 17/11/1918). Politically, particularly in the Australian context, the planting of many avenues before the end of the war had a propaganda function in encouraging recruitment, while the preparation and planting of memorial avenues was also recommended to local governments as possible employment opportunities for returned servicemen (Richards, 2003). No matter what specific role or secondary function was ascribed to the trees, all the avenues were to perpetuate into the future the memory of those who served or died.

Timing of planting:

The First World War memorial avenues can be divided into two groups, those planted before the end of the war and those planted after. The majority of the 298 First World War avenues were planted after the end of the war. At least 56 avenues were planted prior to Armistice Day, one in Victoria, Canada and the remainder in Victoria, Tasmania, New South Wales and Queensland, Australia. Planting of the first avenue in Australia, according to Cockerell (2004), began as early as 1914 in Eumundi, Queensland, while Dargavel (2000) has recorded Laurieton in the Camden Haven district near Port Macquarie as the first avenue planted, in August 1916. In general terms avenues planted before the end of the war commemorated the enlisted. Those planted after the war commemorated the dead (Dargavel, 1999). There are always exceptions and a small number of avenues planted before the end of the war are reported to have commemorated only the war dead. The fourteen maples planted at Vinning street high school in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, were planted on the second anniversary of the Battle of Ypres, 20 April, 1917 to commemorate teachers and students who had died (Fulton, 1996). In Australia, avenues in memory of the dead were planted at the Ballarat Mines School and Woodend in Victoria, Yeronga

Park, Brisbane and Roma in Queensland, and Ouse, Lefroy, Legerwood, Glenora and Nubeena, Tasmania. For those communities planting trees for all who enlisted, some were conscious of the potential for further recruitment from their town and prepared for that eventuality. In July 1917 in Cheltenham, Victoria, 199 trees were planted to commemorate all who enlisted, included nine trees with no signage (Whitehead, undated). This anticipated the future incorporation of new volunteers within the avenue. The number of trees required for the Ballarat avenue continued to grow over the course of the two years of its planting as more men and women from the district volunteered. At Booroopki, Victoria, two plantings were undertaken. The first planting of 30 trees was held on 28 August, 1918. The second planting, to plant trees for those who had died subsequent to the 1918 planting, was held on 6 August, 1919 (www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au). It is possible that other communities who planted their avenues before the end of the war had some sort of contingency plans for commemorating those who volunteered after the event. Equally, memorial avenues to all who served were not restricted to just before the end of the war, they continued to be planted in smaller numbers until the late 1920s.

Location:

Avenue location within towns and cities varied across the sample and depended on the nature of the group planting the avenue. There were three predominant locations for planting: trees were planted centrally, in particular districts or suburbs, or in areas of particular significance. In Saskatoon, Canada, trees were planted leading up to the Woodlawn Cemetery (Wood, 1997). Nine hundred and fifty plaques were erected on trees lining the Grand Concourse in the Bronx, New York City (*New York Times*, 31/5/1922), and in Dunedin, New Zealand, trees were planted in a number of suburban streets within the city (*ODT*, 5/8/1919, 12/8/1919; Dunedin City Council. DCC TC 33, RES m/2). Some communities chose to plant their avenues on the periphery of town, presenting the avenue in the context of its more traditional form, as an entrance to an important site (Lawrence, 1988; Darin, 2004); as in the case of Woodend, Mortlake and Ballarat in Victoria, Australia. Some avenues linked the entrances of two towns or cities. In the United States the Des Moines Memorial Way ran from Des Moines and the city limits of Seattle (<http://highlinehistory.org>). Church parishes planted avenues on their grounds and framing their drives. Schools planted avenues at school entrances (Bendigo East School, Bendigo, Australia), along drives

leading to the school (Waitaki Boys High School, Oamaru, New Zealand; Leeds Grammar School, Leeds, Britain), in the grounds (Upper Junction School, Dunedin, New Zealand), and along the road that fronts the school (Cranbourne, Australia). Avenues were also planted in parks and sports grounds, such as those planted to the memory of the soldiers and sailors from the Borough of Manhattan in Central Park, New York (*New York Times*, 1/12/1918), and in Masterton, New Zealand, along the side of the town's sports fields (Morrison, 1991). The avenues were located where they would be most visible to or made the biggest impact on the community planting the trees.

The construction of new roads and highways opened up opportunities for commemorative efforts, particularly in the United States and Britain. Trees were planted along both new and existing highways and called Roads of Remembrance. In Britain memorial trees were planted along the new Kingston- and Colchester-bypasses. In Folkestone a road of remembrance was established from the Leas Promenade to Folkestone harbour. The majority of soldiers departing for France embarked at the Folkestone harbour (*The Times*, 22/4/1924). In the United States reports indicated that roads of remembrance were being established in a number of states. New roads were being planted in Cleveland, Minneapolis and Chicago. Old and new sections of highway were being planted along the Susquehanna Trail, Pennsylvania, Jefferson Highway, Louisiana, Mercer County, New Jersey, also in Florida, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. Iconic highways were also being planted. In 1922 a 25 mile section of the Lincoln Highway, from Wrightsville to Abbottstown, was dedicated (*American Forestry*, July 1922). The memory of the dead was being linked to post-war progress through expanding transport networks.

In Memory of Whom:

Memorial avenues were planted to honour either all those who enlisted or those who died in the war. The individualisation of war service and sacrifice not only gave a visual impact but quantified the level of commitment and service to king, country and the greater good. It also indicated the extent of the anguish and suffering of a community (Ziino, 2003). Individualising the memory identified families who paid a very high price for their sons' commitment to the war. The risk of multiple losses within single families rose as an increasing number of sons enlisted and engaged in

active service. At the Upper Junction School, Dunedin, New Zealand, trees planted in the avenue along the side of the playing field represented multiple losses for several families. One family mourned the death of three sons: one dying in Gallipoli, one at Passchendaele and the third from the Spanish Influenza. Another family lost four sons (J Sinclair, pers. comm). It was not uncommon to see the names of two brothers on war memorials, arboreal or stone. Not all communities exhibited the same level of commitment to naming.

Some of the avenues are less democratic in nature than others. When looking at a war memorial of any kind, a popular assumption made by the observer is that the names listed represent everyone who died, not the majority of those who died. Two factors impacted on the level of inclusion. The first factor was the availability of an accurate official list of the enlisted and the dead. Where an official list was unavailable, organising committees relied on the general public to supply names or to apply for trees. In Dunedin, next-of-kin were asked if they wished a tree to be planted for their dead son or husband. The second factor was the method of funding the avenue which impacted on the level of completeness. A number of committees charged families or relatives of dead soldiers for the cost of the tree, plaque, and/or guard. In both cases not everyone wanted a tree planted for their next-of-kin. In Masterton, New Zealand, the committee charged £1 for planting a tree in remembrance, and a total of 117 trees were planted (Bull, 1986). Parents, relations or friends paid for the individual trees in Albany, Western Australia (Richards, 2003). Next-of-kin were charged 10 shillings for a tree and plaque to be planted in King's Park, Perth. This was raised to 15 shillings as the cost of the plaques increased. By the time of the first stage of planting, 3 August, 1919, 260 trees had been subscribed for, with 404 trees planted. The cost of the additional 144 trees was covered by a donation of £500 from Mr Arthur Lovekin, who first presented the idea to the Kings Park Board. Overall Mr Lovekin was disappointed with the uptake from the public as approximately 7000 men from the state had died in the war and he had hoped that the honour avenue would truly represent the state (Wycherley, 1994). A state-wide memorial of this nature did not help with the representation of loss at the local level. For some the loss was still too fresh and they did not wish to participate and have a public reminder of that loss. Cost may have been a reason at the time for some next-of-kin in choosing not to have

a memorial tree planted. As a result some avenues under-represented the full human cost.

As some avenues under-represented the cost in lives to a community, in other instances the number of trees planted concealed exceptional commitment to the cause or unprecedented loss. This can be illustrated by two Australian examples: the 36 trees of the Franklin represented the entire male population aged between 18 and 45 (*Weekly Courier*, 13/6/1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au (Franklin)). The volunteers from Banjup suffered the highest fatality and casualty rate as a percentage of enlistment than any other place in Western Australia (www.warmemorials.net). In viewing memorial avenues, therefore, it cannot be taken for granted that in naming the dead all individuals who died were represented. Nor does a list of names tell the whole story.

The allocation of trees within the avenue varied, most being assigned either by enlistment order (eg Ballarat), alphabetical (eg Bacchus March, <http://users.netconnect.com.au>) or by ballot (eg Mount Macedon, (Haddow, 1988a)). Within the configuration of the avenue, the trees planted at the start of the avenue may have had particular significance or focus, lending them special places of honour. This place was either occupied by someone from within the group or someone unrelated. Several communities, such as Nubeena, Tasmania, chose to honour first those who died, followed by those who returned (www.soldierswalk.org.au (Nubeena)). At Hobart the first trees were planted to those who died at Gallipoli, including ten trees for the men who died on the first day of the landing (www.soldierswalk.org.au (walk about)). In contrast, the first three trees planted at Werribee, were to the first men who enlisted (www.werribee.org.au). Trees to the memory of nurses received special honour in both the avenues at Ballarat North (*The Ballarat Star*, 13/8/1917), and Learmonth, Victoria (Dargarvel, 2000). Other communities chose to honour events or groups of people within the avenue. Trees were also planted in memory of Gallipoli, the ANZACs, for victory and to peace. Ultimately, whatever the order of planting all those represented were honoured for their service and/or sacrificed.

Planted by Whom:

Community participation in the planting of the trees depended on the purpose of the ceremony, whether it was the planting of trees or their dedication. The greatest numbers of avenues were planted by relatives of the deceased. This was an aspect in which female relatives played an active role. Other groups also planted trees. Children planted the avenues at Learmonth and Seymour, Victoria, Australia (Haddow, 1988b; Dargavel, 2000). In Macleod, Victoria, military patients at the nearby No 16 Australian General Hospital planted trees in memory of fallen comrades (www.skp.com.au), and in Ballarat the avenue was planted by the female workers of the whiteware factory, Lucas & Co. In some cases dignitaries invited to ceremonies also planted trees. Fifty dignitaries present at the first planting of the Ballarat avenue planted trees. In places where the trees were dedicated the plantings were carried out before the ceremony, generally by town or city employees or experts. Many of the trees in King's Park, Perth, were planted by council staff. In Albany, Western Australia, the parents, relations and friends of the war dead were not allowed to plant the trees they had paid for. Technical difficulties were cited and appropriately skilled members of the Albany Agricultural Society undertook the planting (Richards, 2003). Members of the Oamaru Beautifying Society completed planting the memorial oaks several weeks prior to the dedication ceremony (Committee of the Fallen Soldiers Memorial, 20/8/1919). The lack of next-of-kin participation turned them from participants to observers, possibly denying them a cathartic experience in being able to do something practical in the marking of their son or daughter's service or death.

Signs:

The individualisation of plaques and the amount of personal and military information supplied on the plaques differentiated the memorial avenues from all other forms of war memorial (Richards, 2003). Once again the level of information included on a plaque varied along a spectrum from the basic marking of the name through the initial and surname of the soldier or nurse to inclusion of as much information as possible. This included information on the rank, battalion, age, date of death, location of death, cause of death, and more rarely, who planted the trees. Symbols were used in some avenues to identify those who had died. Tree registration numbers were also used on plaques. The plaques at Point Walter, Bicton are relatively rare examples of full inclusion of information: "In Honouring/ PTE William J Jackson/ 28th Batt. AIF/

Killed in Action/ Flares/ Nov 16 1916 Aged 32/ Planted by his wife” (www.anzac.dpc.wa.gov.au). This makes poignant reading. In all cases those named were highly identifiable. The more information supplied on the plaque made it easier for the observer to construct an image of the named individual and his or her circumstances. At the same time it was increasingly difficult to retain a romanticized, naive image of war and death.

Choice of Species:

A diverse range of trees was used in the memorial avenues. Avenues consisted of a single variety of a species, multiple varieties of a species and multiple species. Limes appear to have been popular in Great Britain, being planted in Sittingbourne, Walford, Lymm, Leeds, Breedon and Westleton. Some communities planted different varieties or species for those who served and returned and those who died. In Lysterfield, Australia, English oaks were planted for the war dead and silky oaks for those who returned (www.rlcnews.org.au) and Staghorn Flat, Victoria, planted English oaks for those who returned and pencil cypresses for the dead (Touzel, <http://staghornflathistory.net>). Twenty-three different species of trees were used to commemorate the enlisted in the Ballarat avenue in Victoria, one of the most diverse in the database (Mark McWha Pty Ltd, 1997). Such diversity in one avenue makes the application of traditional tree symbolism problematic, particularly in the light of Haddow’s (1988b) assertion on the difficulty in ascertaining the community’s understanding of this symbolism. This is not to say that some communities did not draw on traditional symbolism in making their choice of tree. Haddow (1987) found that only ten of the 58 Victorian avenues known to exist at the time of her research could be considered to have any association with tree symbolism (Mark McWha Pty Ltd, 1997). The choosing of the appropriate tree species then drew on a range of symbolic and practical factors, such as suitability as a street tree, familiarity with a species, its known longevity, ability to survive and availability (Dargavel, 1999; Richards, 2003). Oaks were recommended for Oamaru for three reasons: their toughness - the experts deemed they were more capable than any other tree of withstanding the extremes of weather and climate of the district; their longevity – the tree under which the Magna Carta was signed was said to still be alive; and their symbolism -the “claim of sentiment attaching to ‘hearts of oak’ in ships and men” (*Oamaru Mail*, 14/12/1918). Cedars of Lebanon were planted at Orange, New South

Wales, chosen because of their known longevity (www.alhs.org.au/cedar.htm). The trees planted at the Launceton Church Grammar School, Australia, included seedlings from seed gathered at Lone Pine and Quinn's Post at Gallipoli (The Mercury, 10/9/1934), important sites for the Australians. Conversely, the trees for Cowra were chosen from stock held by the Sydney Botanic Gardens (Fitzgerald, c2002, www.skp.com.au). Some communities were well aware which species would best survive the conditions and chose to plant native species, either native to the state or country, and were planted alone or in conjunction with other species (Haddow, 1988b). Whatever the choice of species, survival of individual trees or the avenue as a whole was not guaranteed even with active maintenance.

Organisation and preparation:

Differences in organisation and preparation are only evident when the story behind an avenue is available. Unlike many forms of war memorial, the memorial avenue was a local initiative for which expertise could be found within the community and local government. The avenues were generally quick and easy to arrange, even when conceived on a large scale and did not incur the level of acrimony that accompanied many other types of war memorials. Their practical, hands-on nature allowed for involvement of a broader spectrum of the community. Women and children were not marginalised as in the case of the male-orientated unveiling of stone memorials. It was one of the few forms of war memorial in which volunteer labour played an important role (Haddow 1987; Dargavel, 2000, Luckins, 2004). In many cases there was an opportunity for family and friends of the war dead to participate in the preparation through working bees. This gave women and children the opportunity to participate in both the physical activity and in providing refreshments for other volunteers rather than act as passive observers. In Hobart there were working bees on five consecutive Saturdays leading up to the planting of the trees. Each weekend different groups were evident. The first Saturday was dominated by soldiers and workers from businesses and factories and boys from the State High School where some of the dead soldiers had worked or gone to school (*The Mercury*, 24 June 1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au¹). The following weekend greater numbers of people turned up. Many family groups arrived to prepare the ground and dig the hole for the

¹ reference quotes day and date that do not match with the calendar, have corrected from Monday 26 June

tree for fathers, husbands and sons. The newspaper correspondent reported on grandfathers digging holes for trees for their dead grandsons, and mothers and sisters wielding picks and shovels (*The Mercury*, 1 July 1918, www.soldierswalk.org.au). Such personal participation allowed the extended family to get involved, recognizing that the death of a loved one affected more than just the parents.

Organisational efforts did not always run smoothly. Despite the best intentions, the planning by some groups encountered difficulties through the lack of consultation with the broader community. At Cowra, New South Wales, the Women's Club decided to plant a memorial avenue to commemorate all those from the district who served. The secretary, Myee Planta, travelled to Sydney to pick up 400 trees from the Sydney Botanic Gardens - the Gardens were offering free trees to communities wanting to plant memorial avenues. On returning by train to Cowra with 400 trees, Myee Planta was informed that the Women's Club had not sought permission to plant the trees and a meeting protesting the idea was to be held that afternoon. Ultimately the women triumphed. The trees were planted on Arbor Day 1917 and officially opened in 1918 with the full support of the municipal government and the community (Fitzgerald, c2002, www.skp.com.au). For many communities the support of the municipal authorities was important, not only for permission for the granting of public space but also for ongoing maintenance of the avenues.

The result of these multiple decisions was the construction of a memorial that emphasised the naming of the dead through the individualisation of memory within the broader context of the memorial landscape. Central to this was the construction of individual military persona in which individual and collective memory was framed. The democratisation of memory through this construction presupposed an inclusive naming of the dead in all avenues. This was challenged by those committees who introduced a charge for each tree. The voluntary nature of such schemes restricted access for some families to participate and at the same time allowed others to opt out if uncomfortable with the commemoration for what reason. In spite of this and perhaps the perceived militaristic formation through the regimentation, general uniformity, and linearity of design, the avenues constituted a personal and personalised memorial landscape within a public and official framework of memory construction, in terms of individual memorials, the quantity of information supplied

about the men and women who served and/or died and the level of family and community participation in the construction of such a landscape.

Summary

This chapter has analysed the ways in which war memorial work memory became more democratic and the dead became more likely to be named as time progressed. Unlike previous work it has identified a long history of tree usage as war memorials and has sought to rework current knowledge of memorial avenues through the construction of a more comprehensive database. This database has in turn been used to analyse a range of characteristics of these avenues.

This discussion has provided a clearer understanding of the extent to which avenues of trees were used as a specific method of memorialisation. The avenues provided a particular individualised acknowledgement of service and sacrifice not found in other local, regional, state or national First World War memorial form. They were a product of what Ziino (2003:146, 151) has described as “a conscious process of identification”, the identification of those who volunteered, served, died, waited, celebrated, mourned and suffered personal loss; at its heart the “personalisation of sacrifice”. The trees bound together the incremental loss of individuals from a community and reaffirmed the achievements that service and sacrifice had wrought. In doing so communities laid claim to the memory of those commemorated, a specific memory framed by military enlistment and war experience (Ziino, 2003). The planting of memorial trees and the naming of the dead helped mediate grief and the social rupture experienced. This, the question of memory construction through and residing in these avenues, will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Competing Memories: official and personal

The forms of the past are expressions of a spirit it attempts to understand, always viewing them in the thick of events” (Johan Huizinga cited in Luckins, 2004:17).

Introduction

Amongst the disparate communities that planted memorial avenues there was a singularity of purpose, the perpetuation of the memory of those who served and/or died during the war. Despite this singular purpose, it did not support a singularity of memory. This was undermined by multiple war experiences and war memories. The official memory expressed by the memorial avenues attempted to represent a collective understanding of war and loss, constructed within and reflective of national level discourses on support for and participation in the war. This official language was articulated at the expense of personal and private memories of the next-of-kin and other communal groupings. Official memory did not subsume or mitigate other forms of memories, nor represent distinctive home front or military front memories of the war, but dominated the expression of an assumed community wide understanding. This chapter opens with the structuring of war rhetoric and official language of the ceremony of tree planting. The case studies show the variable success of war rhetoric and official memory and the inadequacies it embodied in the understanding of loss. Memorial trees and avenues had the potential to open spaces for much more personal

participation and alternative memories. An important question to raise is, therefore, that of whose memory is being projected. The chapter ends by drawing attention to the divergence of meaning of trees in war and peace.

Rhetoric of war

War rhetoric established during the First World War underlies much of war memorialisation of the twentieth century and is suffused in the official memory of memorial avenues of that period. The specific language of the rhetoric of war was used by governments, the press, private institutions and organisations to influence public opinion and public morale in respect of the war and home front war efforts (Haste, 1977). Consequently, this language was internalised by the home front and framed their understanding and interpretation of the war and war's public and private costs. It was also used as a weapon against those who were not supporting the war to their full extent (Baker, 1988; Acton, 1999). After the war the rhetoric survived in war memorial commemorations through the construction of official memory, articulating how post-war communities were to remember the war and the war dead. In the case of many memorial avenues newspaper coverage offers the only access point to the community understandings of their memorial, the war and the war dead.

War rhetoric framed the interpretation of the war and high death tolls by drawing on values and principles that many communities held, esteemed and aspired to, appealing to the better qualities of people. It was sustained by propaganda and the 'fog of war', that is military censorship that severely limited the release of accurate, factual military information (*The Press*, 5/8/1914; 14/8/1914; Haste, 1977). There developed "... a system of information dissemination which inflated minor successes, concealed disasters, incited hatreds and disguised the nature of battlefield experience" (Williams, 1999:1). Central to the broad scope of the rhetoric of war was the manipulation of public opinion in support of governments, their aims and the war (Messinger, 1992). This rhetoric was used across the Empire to inspire, castigate, arouse guilt and cajole both men and women into accepting, comprehending and participating in the war.

The British government entered the war to prevent a hostile enemy from gaining control of continental Europe and the Channel ports and to neutralise the threat to Britain's sea-borne trade and its existence as a great power (Todman, 2005). The British declaration of war on 4th August, 1914 effectively bound the colonial dominions of the British Empire to a war that they were not legally obligated to support or fight, but for "compelling strategic reasons" of security, defence and economic stability chose to support (Sheffield, 2007:39; McGibbon, 2007). Justification for this move was articulated through abstract ideals such as 'duty', 'Empire', 'loyalty' and 'crisis of civilisation'. The British Government and British propaganda agents mobilised such ideals to engage the public in the discourse on the acceptance and physical participation in the war (Johnson, 1975; Hastie, 1977). The colonial dominions drew heavily on the war rhetoric emanating from Britain (Lineham, 2007). Outrage at the German invasion of Belgium and atrocities perpetrated by the soldiers gave the British government a platform from which the public could see their attempts at preventing further conflict (Todman, 2005). Thus, when war was declared the cause was presented as a "moral campaign" (Haste, 1977:24), 'just' and 'right', in defence of the weak and drawing on sound principles and values commonly held by the Anglophone dominions (Ziino, 2003; Davidson, 2007; Lineham, 2007). War rhetoric responded to events and needs. Those advocating official rhetoric held to the most useful for as long as practicable.

On announcing the British declaration the New Zealand Prime Minister, Mr Massey, called upon every New Zealander, stating it their responsibility to "keep cool, stand fast, do your duty to New Zealand, and the Empire" (*The Press*, 6/8/1914). The public response to war was mixed but in general greeted with enthusiasm. Expressions of patriotic zeal, calm tempered by the acknowledged seriousness of the situation and outright horror were voiced around the country (*The Press*, 4/8/1914; 5/8/1914; Baker, 1988). The voices that declared their opposition to the war (Hutching, 2007; Parsons, 2007) were overwhelmed by the tide of enthusiasm supporting a call for a "full and active part in the war" (McGibbon, 2007:51). Within days the Government announced that sacrifices had to be made, primarily in terms of money, goods and the sacrifices made by volunteers in leaving home, family, and jobs (*The Press*, 10/8/1914). Baker (1988) and Wright (1993) both argue that during the first year of the war there was little need for the persistent articulation by the Government of

official war rhetoric in motivating the general public. Newspapers articulated the rhetoric daily and the churches supported the war from the pulpit. Both used a blend of “imperial loyalty, patriotism and jingoistic rhetoric” (Davidson, 2007:450), reinforcing official idealised rhetoric of duty, justice and the righteous nature of the cause. It was not until bulletins on the fighting at Gallipoli started to be received that the naivety of many on the New Zealand and Australian home fronts was dispelled (Baker, 1988). Duty and sacrifice now held the spectre of death, an aspect of war not previously openly discussed.

As war progressed and the mood of the country changed so did the rhetoric. Ministers and priests drew on themes of “comradeship, bravery, endurance, patriotism and the values of blood sacrifice” enmeshed in Christian principles and the suffering of Christ to help their parishioners to understand and accept their own trials and sacrifices (Davidson, 2007: 453). By the middle of 1917 conscription and war weariness had thoroughly undermined the ‘spirit of voluntarism’, rendering the rhetoric of duty almost superfluous (Baker, 1988:102). War rhetoric was not able to compete with the reality of war experiences on the home or military front. Realism undermined war rhetoric leaving a void in the way war was to be understood. Attempts were made to address this through the memorialisation of the war dead. Religious rhetoric of duty, sacrifice and supreme sacrifice was co-opted by the state (Davidson, 2007) and in turn by the memorial committees during and after the war.

The language of memory

The official ceremonies

The rhetoric of war, death and memory provided a nation-wide frame for the understanding of war and the war dead, creating a purified reality in which the brutality and horror of war was obscured and silenced (Sennett, 1971). Carefully selected themes were drawn from this purified reality to shape an equally purified form of memory of the war and the dead. This official memory was articulated through official ceremonies and inscribed in brass and on stone to accompany memorial avenues. Official tree-planting ceremonies or tree dedications provided an important means of anchoring official war memory to the landscape at the local level. By this means continuity between national and local war rhetoric was maintained through the re-emphasis of the “idealism, rhetoric and high diction” (Young,

1989/90:8). War rhetoric used to good effect was found appealing by many who enlisted. The idealised rhetoric of war, death and memory aligned duty with glory and sacrifice in such a way to portray each soldier as willing to offer their lives as gifts upon the altar of the enemy. This turned all being commemorated into living or fallen heroes, particularly in Australia (Hynes, 1990; Inglis, 1998).

The reproduction of war rhetoric and purified memory sat well within the traditional formats of official ceremonies for the unveiling or openings of traditional war memorials and monuments with their use of high diction and high moral tenor. At the local level this was facilitated through Fallen Soldiers', or later, War Memorial committees. While these committees were deemed to be representative of their communities, many were dominated by members of the middle and professional classes who supported the war (King, 1998). Local, regional, and international dignitaries were powerful proponents in the articulation of these select ideas through their speeches. The speakers eulogised the volunteers and conscripts, living or dead, with euphemisms using the language of high diction, big words that extolled virtue and silenced reality. Parents and relations of the dead were told their sons were 'heroic patriots', 'gallant men' and the 'glorious dead'. All who served were brave, loyal and devoted. They performed extraordinary deeds in the name of the Empire, king and country in the moral cause of "assisting to vindicate the rights of the weak and smaller nations" (Major Morrisby, Bellervie, Australia, *The Mercury*, 9/9/1918), "so that the world might be a fit place to live in" (Mr Collins, MLC, Beaconfield, Australia, *The Examiner*, 3/9/1918). Those who died "risked their all for King and country" (Mr A. A. Reid, Warden, Bothwell, Australia, *The Mercury*, 4/7/1918) and had "given up their lives for what they considered their duty" (the Governor of Tasmania, Sir Newdegate, Hobart, Australia, *The Mercury*, 15/2/1919). They experienced noble, glorious deaths for the "great principle for which the Empire and the Allies were fighting" (The Premier, Hon W. H. Lee, Bothwell, Australia, *The Mercury*, 4/7/1918). Those who came back were the 'heroic living'. Australian dignitaries directly associated the service of Australian volunteers with the preservation of "her [Australia's] liberties, nation existence, and everything that she treasures in this free country" (Chief Justice, Sir Herbert Nicholls, Hobart, Australia, *The Mercury*, 5/8/1918). Few spoke of the true cost of the war in terms of the actual experiences of grieving families and returned soldiers.

The central commemorative stone

The physical articulation of official memory in the landscape of many memorial avenue sites was the inscription on a central dedicatory stone laid down as part of a tree planting or dedication ceremony or afterwards. Such stones accompanied memorial avenues at Westelton, Horsforth, Sittingbourne, Walford and Harwell in Britain, and Oamaru, New Zealand, to name a few. The language used in the inscription, when compared to the rhetoric of the official ceremony, was muted in tone but still ideologically charged, focussing on the service or loss of the enlisted of the community. Due to limited space, the inscription was targeted and direct. Inscriptions commemorating or in remembrance of the war dead used a limited range of euphemistic terms to soften the image of death in war and to bring some measure of comfort to the bereaved. Words such as ‘fell’, a term in use since at least the Crimean war, ‘paid’, ‘gave’, and ‘sacrificed’ affirmed the construction of the “idealised heroic death” (Acton, 1999:58). Soldiers’ enlistments were testaments to their willingness to offer their lives as a gift in the pursuit of liberty, “gifts more rare than gold” (Vera Brittain cited in Acton, 1999:62). These terms combined well with the war rhetoric of ‘duty’ and sacrifice’. Together these tropes purposefully ignored the negative aspects of war and death. Images of clean, instant, painless, honourable deaths were preferable and more easily understood by grieving families and friends than the possibilities of lingering and painful deaths. The sanitized nature of war rhetoric and official memory then provided the language for the acceptance of war, the recruitment of soldiers and consolation for their loss (Acton, 1999) and the efficacy of the war in the early post war years (Vance, 1997). God, king and country, Empire, service and sacrifice provided the context in which the home front could comprehend their losses as there was no other acceptable alternative cultural frame through which to filter these experiences and emotions.

The individual plaques

Individual plaques both challenged and supported war rhetoric. The plaques individualised service and sacrifice through a militaristic construction of memory. The war memorial committees claimed the right to the memory of the people they were commemorating, representing them as military personnel, over and above other life roles (Ziino, 2003). The language on the plaques cut across the euphemistic

language of the commemorative stone. At some sites the level of military detail given was only equalled by that found in military cemeteries and absent from most other forms of war memorials. The incorporation of military descriptors, especially those classifying means of death, such as ‘killed in action’, ‘missing in action’, ‘died from wounds’ and ‘died from disease’, subverted the romanticised notions of death in war but added to the ‘hero’ status of the war dead. Each item of information on the plaque offered a point of differentiation between individuals that could be read as a retrograde move to the class representations of pre-1914 war memorialisation. However, in the context of egalitarian memorial avenues, this personalisation reinforced the individual nature of each tree as a separate, distinct memorial in its own right, and made way for alternative memory constructions and multiple interpretations of the memorial medium.

Case Studies:

The official ceremony of tree-planting or dedication presented the most appropriate opportunity for the framing of official memory. This was not always the case, nor was this memory necessarily constructed independently of personal memory. The avenues in the following case studies provide examples of the particularity of place. The construction of memory was based on local variables where official memory, due to circumstances, was constructed through a broader range of agents than the speech makers at the official ceremonies. The avenues’ stories share a limited number of commonalities: originators who were locally well known; detailed plan preparation; appropriate support gained prior to public presentation; and a lack of general public consultation on form, location or funding. The communities were both well acquainted with the benefits of tree planting. At the same time they exhibited both fundamental and philosophical differences, particularly evident in the *raison d’être* for their trees, organisational practice, the ceremonies and plantings.

The first case study focuses on the Ballarat Avenue of Honour, Victoria, Australia, in which the traditional format of the official ceremony and the articulation of official memory was disrupted. The ceremony was abandoned because of adverse weather conditions at the time of the first planting. As a result, the construction of official memory relied on the discourse articulated through the newspapers and the agents of the plan. It was not until the second planting ceremony, ten weeks later, that a more

rhetoric-based official memory was articulated by political and military dignitaries. The second case study, the memorial oaks of North Otago, New Zealand, presents different agents of memory. In this case the knowledge of local lads who died during the war lay, not in the hands of any local, regional or national officials, but with individuals in the community and their personal memories of loss, mourning and grief. The formation of Oamaru's avenues relied on the articulation of aspects of personal stories to authorities and was not acknowledged in the official memory of the ceremony.

Avenue of Honour, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia

The idea of an avenue of honour was set against the national backdrop of three years of war and heavy losses. War weariness of 1917 manifested itself in a range of debates on low and declining voluntary enlistment figures; conscription and the failed referendum of October 1916; and social and economic unrest. These debates were seen by a range of individuals and groups to demonstrate, to varying degrees, an unpatriotic lack of support for the Government at a time when everyone was expected to unite in the greater cause of the war (*The Ballarat Star*, 20/8/1917; Baker, 1988; Bollard, 2006).

At the local level the avenue at Ballarat was introduced into a community with a high level of tree consciousness (Dargavel, 2000). According to Spencer (1986), for several decades the city's garden curators had experimented with various trees species and planted many of the central streets with trees. By the time of the First World War a number of organisations were actively involved in planting trees, both within the city and in the countryside. Immediately prior to the 'public' presentation of the avenue proposal, the Minister for Forestry confirmed the approval of 68,000 trees for the "Forward Ballarat" tree planting scheme. The scheme was to provide trees for a number of local initiatives at, for instance, the cemetery, local schools, and the orphanage and to be made available for the encouragement of farmers in the planting of trees as wind breaks (*Ballarat Star*, 8/5/1917). Dargavel (1999) suggests that Ballarat's avenue was itself part of the "Forward Ballarat" scheme forwarded to the Minister. The memorial avenue was then not out of step with tree-planting already being undertaken.

The concept for the Ballarat Avenue of Honour was first presented at the Ballarat Progress Association's Arbor Day planning meeting on 16 May 1917. At this meeting proposals for "extensive war-commemorative avenues and plantations" were presented (*Ballarat Star*, 18/5/1917). Mrs Thompson and Mr Price, representatives of the company Lucas and Co., (a women's whitewear manufacturer), put forward a scheme for the planting of a tree for each resident of Ballarat who had volunteered to enlist in the war. Sufficient support for these projects resulted in a deputation from various interested parties to approach the Mayors of the Town and City councils for their support and co-operation. The Mayors both agreed to the requests. Mrs Thompson, speaking on behalf of the employees of Lucas and Co., explained that the girls of the factory (known as the Lucas Girls) intended to plant 500 trees in honour of the first 500 men who had enlisted in Ballarat. The proposed site for the memorial was to be Burrumbeet Road, one of the entrances to the city. A report had already been submitted by the curators of the city gardens on tree species suitability. Costs incurred would be covered by the girls and it was hoped that future plantings would be carried out with the assistance of various public bodies in the city until a tree was planted for each of the 2880 men who had enlisted since 1914 (*Ballarat Star*, 19 May 1917).

Enthusiasm and support for the project was strong. Within three days the scheme had transformed from a proposal to a plan of action. Permission to plant the avenue along Burrumbeet Road had been requested from the council of the Shire of Ballarat and granted. The date was set for Monday, 4th June, the King's birthday, and public holiday. Arrangements were made with the City Council nursery for trees. An executive committee was appointed to carry out the Lucas Girls' scheme and a general committee formed (*Ballarat Star*, 19 May, 1917). In just under three weeks all necessary arrangements had been made, including the supply of 500 name plates.

Preparations were extensive and involved the whole community. Involvement was encouraged through a city-wide appeal to contribute necessary goods and manpower to the project and attendance at the worthy event (*Ballarat Star*, 21/5/1917). Personalised letters were written by the Lucas Girls to the next of kin of each of the soldiers to be honoured, inviting them to be present at the planting and assist if they wished. The Boy Scouts and students from the Ballarat High School dug the holes

for the trees and the 500 tree guards were erected by one gentleman. A souvenir catalogue was prepared for sale by the young ladies, listing the names of the soldiers honoured. On the day, thousands of people gathered, “attracted by the somewhat unique ceremony”. Military, state and local government officials turned up in force. Official representatives planted 50 of the trees with the State Premier planting the first tree. To ensure the successful planting of the trees, the planters were supported by 25 gardeners and 26 carpenters (*Ballarat Courier*, 2/6/1917, 5/6/1917).



Figure 8.1. The Ballarat Avenue of Honour

Although the officials planted their trees, their speeches went unheard on Monday, 4 June. Just before the official start time it began to rain heavily. The programme was adhered to as much as possible. At the end of the planting the Premier spoke briefly, reassuring the crowd that all the trees had been planted and nameplates attached. He also informed the crowd that more trees would be planted in the near future. Because everyone was getting wet, the gathering for the speeches was abandoned and the crowd dispersed (*Ballarat Courier*, 5 June, 1917).

The enthusiastic response from soldiers and soldiers’ relatives to the disrupted event was such that the ladies from Lucas & Co. agreed to undertake a second planting of trees before the end of the season. Other people, apart from the girls, now wanted to

contribute financially to the endeavour. After some consultation, the Mayor opened a public fund with moneys raised going towards the cost of the trees (*Ballarat Star*, 9 June 1917). Along with this a targeted fundraising campaign was circulated amongst the various societies, associations, clubs, factories and businesses of Ballarat, encouraging the sponsorship of trees. The complete cost of planting each tree was 10 shillings and 6 pence (10/6). For each 10/6 subscribed, the subscriber was entitled to plant a tree. Citizens not connected with any of the above could donate money directly to the Mayor's fund (*Ballarat Star*, 5 July 1917). The targeted campaign ran for eight weeks and the community response was enthusiastic. Subscriptions raised by businesses and organisations financed 213 trees, along with an additional 50 trees from individual residents of Ballarat Shire (Anon, 1919).

The progress of the scheme was not without its own issues: there was attempted interference from members of the local government. A visitor to Ballarat, Mr William Cooper, wrote to the editor of the *Ballarat Star* commending the city on their avenue and the loyalty and enterprise of the Lucas Girls. In doing so he mentioned that he had heard that some "councillors" were trying to change the parameters of the avenue, requiring the subsequent section of avenue to be planted five feet wider than that already in place. Mr Cooper condemned the move, because altering "the present alignment would seriously destroy the grandeur of the scheme, be a reflection on your own enacted judgement, and prove to the boys that an imaginary consideration of traffic utility was of more importance than their own heroic efforts" (*Ballarat Star*, 15 June 1917). There was no change to the alignment of subsequent planting.

The second planting was held in August. Hundreds of people turned out once again in unfavourable weather. Dignitaries returned to successfully complete the disrupted official ceremony. The speeches provided a political platform for Sir Alexander Peacock, the Victorian State Premier, and Senator Pearce (Minister of Defence) in which there was little place for grieving families. Rather than speak soothing words in support of the community, the pair chose to denounce the general strike in New South Wales as anti-government and anti-war in the face of waning support for the government. Senator Pearce saw the ceremony as showing positive support for the government:

... after three years of bereavement, and sadness, they meant by that ceremony to repledge themselves to back up the Government in carrying out the war to a successful conclusion. ... They would be merely wasting time if they only did that by words and not by deeds. These trees typify deeds and not words ... and patriotism that was worth anything today must be patriotism of deeds and actions.

Their support could be realised in helping break the strike by closing ranks and volunteering to cross the picket line. The Senator also drew on the now familiar war rhetoric of loyalty, patriotism and sense of duty to move people in support of the government. The Premier reiterated individual duty in supporting the government: "A man or woman ought to be prepared to do his or her bit to help win the war. If they did not stand behind the Government in time of national crisis, then they failed in recognising their duty". He called upon the working men in the gathering to close ranks thus preventing the spreading of the strike and help win the war (*Ballarat Star*, 20 August 1917). Personal sacrifices were expected to be made for the greater good with war priorities dominating and these to be accepted as the burden of the home front. Despite the fact that personal sacrifices were expected on the home front, that which had already been sacrificed was not being adequately acknowledged. Little was mentioned in the speeches about the service or deaths of Ballarat men. Enlistment not death was the theme of the avenue. The patriotic rhetoric sat well with a scheme whose propaganda was loyalty, duty and full support of the soldiers involved. Consequently, the primary role of the avenue was to promote support of the war effort, not to bring comfort to those mourning the loss of a son or daughter.

These speeches offered little in the way of an official memory for understanding war and loss. Newspaper coverage lacked intense war rhetoric. Instead it acted as a conduit for informing the broader public, soliciting of support and describing activities undertaken. This does not negate the influence of the rhetoric in the construction of official memory, as it set the context in which the avenue was undertaken and was prominent in debates on war and economy of the time. It does indicate that the agents of memory were to be found elsewhere. The association of the Lucas Girls with the avenue and their commitment to plant a tree for every man who enlisted remained a constant throughout the months of fundraising and planting. They had an enviable reputation for patriotic and community service, fund-raising and devotion to duty (Rotheram, 1984). Their ongoing patriotic efforts would have been

as effective as newspapers and churches in circulating appropriate patriotic rhetoric. The avenue represents a spontaneous gesture on the part of a particular group of women in support of men and women who volunteered for service during the war and for a beleaguered government at a time of weariness and misgiving. Its novel aspect engaged public imagination and raised the profile of the enlisted and their families.

This spontaneous gesture can also be read as a well orchestrated piece of public opinion manipulation. It provided a spectacle that was novel and festive at a time of wide-spread feelings of war weariness and melancholy. It allowed for the community to express local pride in the enlisted men. At the same time the very men being honoured were also being used as pawns. Their military persona, names, deeds, service and/or sacrifice, and to a certain extent their families, were being used as public property and collectively employed as a public good in the promotion of the war. This was being done in a similar manner as honour boards at the beginning of the war in bringing guilt and pressure to bear on others to do their bit. The sacrifice of the families was being held up to those who kept their sons at home. As a group they were presented to the public as “idealized icon[s], cleansed of transitory weaknesses” (Rowland, 1999:136). In this purified state, the soldiers and their families, as a public good, could be commandeered or claimed by any institution or group to promote or further their cause. Such a move would not have been necessary if Australia had adopted conscription.

Speakers at the final planting nine months after the end of the war did not mention the war dead or the grieving families. The gallant lads were spoken as if still alive and the avenue was to act as a reminder of great deeds and not of sacrifice. The role of the Lucas Girls in the avenue overshadowed memorial aspects in the official construction of memory. The benefits of their activities were seen to have gone far beyond that of planting trees, at home and on the battle front. Commentary on social and economic conditions in Australia also turned speakers away from any memorial aspect. The avenue was not planted for the benefit of the bereaved as it offered no leadership through a hazy official construction of memory in the understanding of war and loss. Ultimately, the grieving had to construct their own memory outside the frame of the avenue to gain comfort.

Memorial Oaks, North Otago, New Zealand

By comparison the North Otago memorial oaks were planted after the war and commemorated the deaths of approximately 400 men and one woman from North Otago. The plan had strong public appeal but still took almost a year to enact. While the trees were the means of remembering, they were planted independently of the main dedication ceremony, without the display and public participation involved in the Ballarat avenue. The dedication ceremony was a short passive event, in terms of public participation, almost devoid of references to war rhetoric and centred on the presence of an international figure in the form of Viscount Jellicoe, Lord of the Admiralty, who dedicated the trees.

Oamaru, like Ballarat, was a tree conscious town. Arbor Day had been adopted in 1892 and much progress had been made since then, although public and municipal enthusiasm for this form of celebration waned after only a few years. The establishment of the Oamaru Beautifying Society saw further planting of trees to provide shade and aesthetic enhancement of the town. Thus the town was well placed to see the merits and benefits of a memorial tree planting scheme.

Dr Douglas, the president of the Oamaru Beautifying Society, wrote to the Waitaki County Council outlining a tree-planting scheme to perpetuate the memory of the men from the district who had died in the war. His proposal was received and presented at a council meeting on the 28 October 1918, in conjunction with a number of supporting letters. By the time of the meeting one councillor had already canvassed his ratepayers for their reactions, whom he found to be “in hearty sympathy” with the proposal (Waitaki County Council Minutes, 26/10/1918; *Oamaru Mail*, 28/10/1918). The council approved the proposal and a committee was established to approach the Oamaru Borough Council. Six weeks later, at a meeting of representatives of both councils, Dr Douglas presented his proposal in detail, covering preferred tree species, location, preparation and inscription, while a site was still to be determined. The scheme advocated the equality of commemoration and the individual nature of naming the dead. These benefits, however, were going to come at a price. Preliminary work on the cost estimates of protection work only, to keep out rabbits and browsing animals, was calculated to be £6.15.0 per tree. Notwithstanding the news on potential costs, the proposal was endorsed by both councils with each council

agreeing to cover the cost of the memorials for the men from their jurisdiction. The Borough Council would bear the cost of memorials for the town men and the County Council the country men (Combined Committee of the Fallen Soldiers Memorial, no date; Oamaru Mail, 14/12/1918).

The first task was to compile a list of the war dead from the district. This apparently easy task was made difficult when it was found the Ministry of Defence did not hold separate district records for enlistments. An attempt was made to construct a list from casualty and fatality lists in the newspapers but this was a large, time consuming exercise. To aid and enhance this list a newspaper advertisement was placed in the *Oamaru Mail* (4/1/1919) asking relatives and next of kin to write to the County Clerk with names of those who had died while serving in the New Zealand, Australian and Imperial armed forces. There was a good response from the public and many more names were added to the list. Several versions were printed in the newspaper, each publication eliciting more names. Some relatives wrote to the county clerk, others went into the council offices and gave the name of their son or husband to the staff behind the counter. The letters spoke of the particularity of personal stories of loss and sadness. Sons and husbands were killed or missing in action presumed dead, died as prisoners of war, or as the result of wounds. Some families were assured of final resting places for their loved ones, others were not. Friends submitted letters on behalf of those who had family from outside the district.

One letter spoke of the comfort that would be gained from the idea of a memorial tree for her son. Mrs Porter of Tokarahi wrote and kindly asked if a tree could be planted close to her home:

Tokarahi Jan 10th 1919

To Mr McLaren

Dear Sir

I am very glad that the proposal to plant memorial trees for our fallen soldiers is to be carried out. When the time comes, could the tree for my late son (John A Porter,) be placed at the end of the road leading up here. There is space on the right hand side just where it branches off the main road, and where it need not be in the way of traffic at any time even when it grew big. I am not likely to see that time, but it would mean more than a little comfort to me to see it planted on the road down which he traveled for the last time on the night of Aug 11th, 1914. He was the first man to enlist and leave Tokarahi

when volunteers were called for and I hope the committee in charge will not think me presumptuous in asking this favour.
I remain
Yours truly
Mary E Porter
(Letter #109)

Mrs Porter's request was granted. Most letters were written in a matter of fact manner uncluttered by war rhetoric or euphemistic language. In addition they were illustrative of the alternative memories that family and friends would be attributing to the trees in private.

According to Douglas (2004) at the same time there were families who declined to submit their loved one's name to the Council. Douglas (2004) suggests that for some the loss was too fresh and no comfort would be gained from a constant physical reminder of that loss. Thus for these families the timing of the memorial project did not help them in their grieving process.

As the names of the district's dead soldiers continued to be collected, Dr Douglas presented a further proposal to the Borough Council. The plan presented in June, 1919, outlined a site-based, detailed proposal for the memorial trees for the town boys. This new proposal merged the current commemorative scheme with a previously presented beautification plan for the two principal entrances to the town (Pawson, 2004). The main commemorative activity was to be concentrated at the south entrance to the town with landscaping and tree planting. The memorial trees were to be planted in a radial pattern centred on the junction of Towey and Wansbeck streets. The cost of the scheme, including all in grounds costs of approximately 120 trees, including protection work, was not expected to exceed £400, a considerable saving on the previous £6 per tree quote for protection work only. In addition the Oamaru Beautifying Society was prepared to pay one-third of the costs. After discussing the plan the Borough Council voted unanimously to accept, in doing so transferring responsibility for the tree memorial to the Beautifying Society (*Oamaru Mail*, 17/6/1919). By the end of August the town trees had been planted (Committee of the Fallen Soldiers Memorial, 20/8/1919) and the guards had been painted by the ladies of the society (Oamaru Beautifying Society Minutes, 1/9/1919).

The public dedication ceremony was held on 11 September 1919. The Mayor introduced Viscount Jellicoe to the large gathering and described the scheme for his benefit, summing up the various intended memorial and non-memorial roles succinctly: “It was felt that the trees, while providing a beautiful living memorial to our fallen heroes, would also adorn the landscape throughout the district, and be things of beauty and historic interest to succeeding generations”. Throughout the ceremony there was little use of war rhetoric, thus little reference to duty and sacrifice. The war dead were called ‘fallen heroes’ and ‘gallant dead’ with no further explanation. Perhaps the terms themselves were now so redolent with meaning as to summarise war rhetoric, as no rendering of their deeds or attributes was given. While much time was given to summarising the memorial scheme, there was a greater use of imperialistic and jingoistic language in relation to Viscount Jellicoe and the Navy. The emblematic and symbolic qualities of the oak, the species of tree planted, were called upon, not in relation to the war dead or the perpetuation of their memory, but linked to the “attributes of our glorious Navy”. Viscount Jellicoe, Admiral of the Fleet, as a representative of the Empire on an imperial mission and one of the ‘great men’ or leaders of the war, embodied the “Empire made flesh” (Pakenham, 1993:252). Fewster (1980) argues that Jellicoe’s tour was about maintaining a high profile of the Empire in the minds of the citizenry of the Dominions. It was nearly too successful in Oamaru, almost overwhelming the reason for the gathering. This was further reinforced by the local’s newspaper coverage of the day, headed ‘Viscount Jellicoe’s Visit’, the dedication ceremony being only one of a number of activities of the day (*Oamaru Mail*, 12/9/1919).

The official memory developed by the ceremony had more to do with the presence of Viscount Jellicoe than the solemn duty of remembering and commemorating the war dead, almost rendering this aspect secondary. The awe and pride with which Oamaru officials and committee members regarded the visit of Viscount Jellicoe is evident on the dedicatory stone at the hub of the memorial trees (Figure 8.2). The words ‘The Memorial Oaks’ and ‘Admiral of the Fleet, Viscount Jellicoe’ dominate the inscription due to their prominence over the rest of the lettering. Without closer reading of the inscription the trees can be visually and textually linked to the Viscount’s visit rather than commemoration of the war dead. The official ceremony offered the public little in the way of instruction on how the war, the war dead and

their service were to be remembered nor how the memorial trees as a war memorial was to be interpreted.

There is little sense in the dedicatory ceremony that it was undertaken for the benefit of the bereaved families. Of the speakers at the ceremony only Viscount Jellicoe alludes to those left behind. The ceremony appears less a commemoration in memory of the war dead, than a spectacle with Viscount Jellicoe at the centre, offering little comfort or support. This may be an artefact of the limitation of archival material over personal experience of the time. Families and friends of the war dead may have drawn considerable comfort from having such a person as the Viscount dedicate the trees planted in honour of their sons, daughters, husbands, nephews and uncles. With such limited guidance in the official construction of memory represented by the trees, interpretation was then left to the individual allowing for multiple personal and community memories thus numerous interpretations. Through this the death of a soldier, as an event, was returned to the family, where, as Winter (2000) has pointed out, it was the site of initial and ongoing remembrance.



Figure 8.2. The plaque commemorating the dedication of the North Otago Memorial Oaks by Lord Jellicoe.

The construction of official memory at the Ballarat avenue and the Oamaru memorial oaks was driven by the political and social conditions at the time. In both cases the speeches focused on current circumstances in language appropriate to the situation, in Ballarat, the crisis of enlistment and government support, in post-war Oamaru, social and economic rebuilding and the visit of Viscount Jellicoe. The ceremonies for both avenues failed to construct an official memory in which those who had lost members of their family could find meaning or solace for that loss. It was after the plantings and the ceremonies were over that the avenues gained the mantle of remembrance.

These were not the experiences of all involved in memorial avenues. Many committees encouraged the personal participation of families and friends in the planting of the trees and the construction of memory. One of the more individual and personal ceremonies was held at Lefroy, Australia. The official ceremony consisted of a number of small individual ceremonies carried out at the planting of each tree. A personal testimonial was offered by a relative, friend or the religious minister and a verse of the national anthem sung before moving to the planting of the next tree (*Weekly Courier*, 26/10/1918). This was an occasion when the personal memories of individuals were the centre of the ceremony and directly linked to the trees.

Personal memories

Official memory offered those in need a way to personally understand war and loss. However, it did not reconcile with the personal experience of war and death, whether on the home or military front. Although the experiences of the war on these two fronts were interdependent (Acton, 1999), the memories of these two distinct fronts were disparate. While both fronts suffered the “pain of separation” (Luckins, 2004:31), the mental torments and physical discomforts were different. The home front had its own stresses and issues that dominated life and provided hardships, less life threatening than on the battle front but as difficult and important to the people at home. Everyday life for the parents, siblings, wives and children of those on active service was continually overlaid by worry and concern for the safety and well being of a loved one at the front, imagining a whole raft of possibilities prompted by newspaper reports full of misinformation, stories and letters (Williams, 1999; Luckins, 2004). Economic hardship, rising prices, shortages of food and materials

became the background over which the deaths of the soldiers were announced, replacing worry with anguish, mourning and grief. Those not directly related to military or medical personnel on active service watched and supported friends and relations in their time of worry and grief (Luckins, 2004). This differs greatly from the official memory of duty, honour, liberty and sacrifice propounded in the official ceremonies of the memorial avenues.

The construction of memory within the context of individual loss did not start with the death of a soldier son or husband. As Luckins (2004) writes, it commenced with moments of loss bound by enlistment, training and departure, each moment of loss being connected very closely to absence. Mourning became an on-going state of being only fully realised when the final blow of death came (Acton, 1999). Through their grief and mourning, some found it difficult to imagine a future without their son or husband. Rose Reader, a British mother, articulated the dimensions of the loss of her son: “[w]hatever pride I had in the past, and whatever hope I had in the far future – by much the larger part of both was invested in him. Now all that is gone” (cited in Hanson, 2006:227.) Not all survived the processes of loss, mourning and grieving (Luckins, 2004). These memories became a permanent fixture which were carried everywhere.

Families and friends of those who enlisted brought all these experiences and memories to the memorial avenues and specifically to the trees erected to commemorate a loved one. The trees, as surrogate burial places and grave stones, were a place to remember, mourn, lay flowers and converse with the departed family member or friend. This was evident in the first few years following the planting of the Bedford Avenue in Brooklyn, New York. Family and friends, young and old, were observed visiting many of the trees, some to talk, to touch and leave gifts – flags, wreaths, cut flowers, ribbons and other personal items of significance – others to seek comfort (Reinitz, 1925). The trees, with generally easily accessible trunks and leaves, offered tactile opportunities to the haptic sense (the sense of touch), a form of physical contact that for the bereaved may have offered a sense of comfort and a sense of closeness to the dead, similar to the tracing of a name chiselled in stone (Marshall, 2004), offering in a sense a way of minimising the “rituals of separation” (Winter, 1995:113) brought about by death and intensified by the lack of a body to

bury. One observer of the Bedford Avenue was surprised at the number of people who treated the tree as their absent “sweethearts, brothers or sons”. As an example, one evening he noticed a young woman approach one of the maple saplings and kiss it, turn away and “walked rapidly away with tears in her eyes to meet a young man who was waiting for her at the corner”, perhaps a gesture of letting go or farewell that enabled the young lady to move on with her life (Reinitz, 1925). At this and other memorial avenues, the trees were important sites of mourning and remembrance. They were invested with and held personal memories and emotions that had become part of everyday life. The trees were able to fulfil different roles for different people that changed with different stages of mourning and remembrance, acceptance and reconciliation.

Returned service men brought tropes of memories and experiences home from the military front that could not be easily reconciled with war rhetoric, the purified memory of the home front or with the memorial avenues. The soldiers not only had to deal with “the grieving over lost mates, [but also] the struggle to conquer personal fear or accept the shame of cowardice, the guilt of catching venereal disease ... the heat and the thirst and the sleepless nights and the stench of death on Gallipoli to the cold and mud, the lice and the rats of the Western Front” (Phillips, et al, 1988:1). Battles and bombardments produced sensory overload, where the sights, sounds and smells of war were difficult to ignore - the noise of artillery bombardments, incoming and outgoing, the sounds of wounded and dying men; not only the smell of decaying bodies as mentioned above but also the smells of gas, and a decaying landscape – soils, flora and fauna - alongside the visual impact associated with the destruction of war, including the destruction of trees.

Siegfried Sassoon captured much of this and more in his poem “Aftermath”, written in March 1919, which appears on the plaque of a memorial tree at Tonge, Bapchild, Kent, England.:

Have you forgotten yet?...
For the world's events have rumbled on since those gagged days,
Like traffic checked a while at the crossing of city ways:
And the haunted gap in your mind has filled with thoughts that flow
Like clouds in the lit heavens of life; and you're a man reprieved to go,
Taking your peaceful share of time, with joy to spare.
But the past is just the same,—and War's a bloody game....

Have you forgotten yet?...
Look down, and swear by the slain of the War that you'll never forget.

Do you remember the dark months you held the sector at Mametz,—
The nights you watched and wired and dug and piled sandbags on parapets?
Do you remember the rats; and the stench
Of corpses rotting in front of the front-line trench,—
And dawn coming, dirty-white, and chill with a hopeless rain?
Do you ever stop and ask, "Is it all going to happen again?"

Do you remember that hour of din before the attack,—
And the anger, the blind compassion that seized and shook you then
As you peered at the doomed and haggard faces of your men?
Do you remember the stretcher-cases lurching back
With dying eyes and lolling heads, those ashen-grey
Masks of the lads who once were keen and kind and gay?
Have you forgotten yet?...
Look up, and swear by the green of the Spring that you'll never forget
(Untermeyer, [1920] 1999. www.bartleby.com/103/. (10/9/2007))

The tree, an oak, from Delville Wood on the Somme where an estimated 420,000 British and colonial soldiers were killed, was a gift from the people of South Africa in 2002, and commemorates all servicemen who died during the First World War and subsequent conflicts in service of their country (UKNIWM ref 12698). Sassoon is thought to have written the poem after his demobilization (12 March 1919) from the army with the rank of captain (Wilson, 2003). It was one of a number of war poems published in July 1919 with an underlying theme of “the danger of forgetting and the danger of remembrance” (Roberts, 1999:144). The experiences described by Sassoon bear little resemblance to the idealised high diction of war rhetoric, disrupting the purified memory of the home front and memorial avenue memory.

Whose trees? – Trees in war and peace.

Cooke (2000) talks of the ambiguity between the event commemorated and the beauty of the memorial site. The ambiguity goes beyond this when an avenue of trees is the war memorial. There is a paradoxical contrast between the landscape of the war memorial and that of the battlefield, overlaid onto a local landscape of trees, woods, forests, fields, farms, villages, towns and cities. The experience of trees by soldiers in the French and Belgium landscape was just as polarised. The non-combatant landscape differed markedly from the battle zones as did the soldiers’ experiences of each. On entering France most soldiers travelled overland to Northern France and the

Western Front by train, truck and on foot. For many, especially those soldiers coming from Gallipoli and Egypt, the journey was through ‘idyllic’ countryside, and ‘picturesque’ villages and towns, amply adorned with trees. Soldiers often commented in their letters, diaries and memoirs on the beauty of the landscape and the profusion of trees, with their varying form, colour and concentration (Pillings, 1933; Miller, 1939; Dunn, [1937] 1987; Tuke, 1997; Williams, 1998; Buchan, 2003; Carkeek, 2003). For Ira Robinson it appeared that the French “have assisted nature by planting thousands of trees in all towns and along the sides of road” (Ward, 2000:97). This experience of Northern France did not prepare the soldiers for the Western Front or the danger that trees could present under fire.

While trees were commonplace across the landscape, the enduring image has been that of the avenues of trees, the tree-lined roads down which the soldiers marched to get to camp and the Front. These tree-lined avenues acted as a “surrogate railway” for the transportation of troops (Gough, 1993:79). The avenue became a widely used motif by artists and writers in painting and poetry (Gough, 1993) and links to the recreation of the avenues of France as war memorial avenues have been more recently suggested (see McKay and Allom, 1984). Yet, as a symbolically laden reference point associated with the planting of war avenues, very few contemporary accounts of planning and planting mention possible links to the French tree-lined roads. Direct comparisons were made with the memorial avenues in Winnipeg, Saskatoon and Victoria in Canada (Fulton, 1996) and metaphorical links through poetic licence in Albany, Western Australia (Richards, 2003), presuming that a pleasant avenue of trees would evoke agreeable memories. However, these same tree-lined roads demarcated transport conduits for the transference of troops, artillery, supplies and communications to the front line and were prime targets for enemy artillery and snipers (Gough, 1993; Buchan, 2003). The Germans used the poplars that lined the Menin Road for target practice, perfecting their accuracy of range by targeting each tree individually (Beaver, 1988). For the troops, the condition of the trees and roads provided an “index of the ferocity and proximity of the battle” (Gough, 1993:81). As illustrated in Figure 8.3, despite the damage, the skeleton tree-lined roads continued until finally dissolving into battle zones (Gough, 1993), an unforgettable image for some, as Aitkens (1963:98) recalled: “a line of blasted trees, pollarded willows, running obliquely across no-man’s land, a line of trees destined to haunt my dreams in

after-years.” Even in retreat avenues were not safe from mutilation, trees were cut to fall across the road in an effort to obstruct advancing forces (Wilson and Hammeton, 1917). There was little to reconcile the images of the pleasant avenues imagined at home and the battle-worn relics at the front.



Figure 8.3. Chateau Wood, Ypres, November 1917, Keegan, 2002 © The Art Archive/Imperial War Museum

Trees were ideal observational posts offering elevated views of the surrounding landscape, enemy activity, and artillery placement. George Macdonald, writing to his uncle tells of the “splendid view of the whole show” from a captured German observational post (Canterbury Museum, 236/83, 10 Sept 1918). Connected to command posts by telephone, they were an operational tool for planning and defence. However, once detected they became dangerous worksites, instantly becoming the target of any artillery within firing range (Wilson and Hammeton, 1917). Concealment of observation posts became more problematic amongst deciduous trees in autumn and winter.

Concentrations of trees in copses, woods and forests were found along the length of the Western Front. While these concentrations afforded concealment and protection, they presented difficult working and fighting conditions, very different to those in

open trench warfare. Night time offered different challenges from daylight hours, the most obvious being navigation, as Dunn, ([1937] 1987:485) recalled:

A raid on Aveluy Wood was proposed for us, to the amazement of those who knew the Wood – our part of it at least. There were those who, it seemed, never learned that warfare inside a wood is a totally different proposition from warfare in the open. ... In the daylight and when in our own posts we knew the approximate location of the German posts, but when visiting posts at night it was the easiest thing to lose direction. The wood was dense, and there was a thick undergrowth which made movement difficult except in the rides, but they were unhealthy to walk along, for Fritz had snipers in trees which overlooked them, and they were not innocent of pitfalls. The snapping of twigs under foot, entanglement in barbed wire dropped on the bushes or hung from the lower branches of the trees, were other troubles that had to be overcome.

For some, darkness brought about psychological challenges where individual imaginations turned an already demanding landscape into one of menace and fear. Sounds became amplified and trees and shadows came to life. As Graham O'Connor (23/3/1928) found, it became every easy to imagine that “every stump and little tree is a German and you can count dozens of them in a very short time” (ARC1988.92, item 53). Not all soldiers feared the copses, woods or forests; some shared an affinity with the trees or a sense of sharing their fate with the woods. This was best expressed by a German soldier in a trench magazine *Die Feldgraue Illustrierte* (1916):

The wood which surrounds the battle lines shares its fate with that of the soldiers waiting to go over the top, and when clouds cover the sun, the pines, like the soldiers beneath them, shed tears of unending pain. The wood will be murdered just as the soldier is certain to be killed in leading the attack.” The “assassinated wood,” he continues, “is my comrade, my protection, my shield against the bullets of the enemy (cited in Mosse, 1990:108).

Mosse (1990) attributes this affinity to the Germans’ close identification with nature and trees, particularly.

The woods were effective hiding places for artillery and therefore a prime target. A wood under artillery fire was a mass of erupting earth, shell fragments and “flying pieces that cannoned off trees” (Dunn, [1937] 1987:494) and “[h]eaven only know what else” (Bryne, 1922:132). The resulting landscape was one of utter destruction, as experienced by Treadwell (1936:197) at High Wood, in the Somme area:

The scene was ugly and desolate beyond description. Where a dense wood of about 150 acres has been was now a wilderness of shell-holes and splintered timber mingles with torn earth and human remains. Among the uprooted

stumps and shattered branches was a maze of trenches, and everywhere were portions of equipment, clothing and human bodies. We found no one living there and the place seemed lonely and uncanny, ... (Treadwell, 1936: 197).

Wet and swampy conditions added to the stink of decay. At Passchendaele, Paul Nash, a British official war artist, wrote to his wife of the “apocalyptic vision” before him, “the stinking mud becomes evilly yellow, the shell holes fill up with green white water, the roads & tracks are covered in inches of slime, the black dying trees ooze and sweat and the shells never cease” (cited in Carroll, 2005:117). These were not uncommon sights. Olfactory memories of the Front were as strong as the visual. Many approaches to the front line were through tortured landscapes such as this.



Figure 8.4. A landscape of destruction on the Western Front. (Source: Ferguson, 1998, illustration 5)

All the woods along the Western Front suffered similar fates. Woods mentioned by New Zealand soldiers are listed in Table 8.1. In many instances the word ‘wood’ ‘copse’ and ‘forest’ ceased to retain their meaning. As Buchan (2003:111) recalled, the word “ ‘woods’ [was] a misnomer, as all that existed was a tangled mess of blasted tree trunks” (Figure 8.4) - sentiments echoed by other soldiers. In some cases

artillery attacks left no remnants of a wood; all that remained was “a wilderness of mud and torn brown earth” (Aitken, 1963:143). Leslie Quatermaine noted in writing to a correspondent that “[o]f famous woods nothing remains but a few blackened shattered stumps, sometimes not even that. I was standing in the middle of one ‘wood’ and did not know it till the Major told me” (cited in Boyack, 1985:107).

Table 8.1. Woods mentioned in the diaries, letters and memoirs of World War I soldiers. Most of these forests were destroyed giving the soldiers who witnessed the destruction and those who viewed the result landscape images not easily forgotten. (Treadwell, 1936; Aitkens, 1963; Dunn 1987; Fitchett, Cleaver and Cleaver, 1994; Harper, 2001; Buchan, 2003; Miller, 2004)

Flanders (around Ypres and Passchendaele)	Somme (Northern France)	Lorraine Region
Ploegsteert Wood Polygon Wood Gravenstafel, Spur	Mamtez Wood Fricourt Wood Delville Wood High Wood Gommescourt Wood Aveluy Wood	Verdun Wood Bois de Caures Hill 295 (Le Morte Homme Wood)

Notwithstanding the experiences of a devastated landscape, trees and their demise were used for comic relief. A trench newspaper launched in the Ypres area, called *The Wiper Times*, parodied and humourised life at the front in context of everyday life in England. The destruction of trees and forests were lampooned principally by way of sports reports and advertisements through the foil of the lifestyles of the upper classes. The first issue, launched Saturday 12 February 1916, used a sporting theme: “There is some good shooting to be had in Railway Wood, but game is getting wilder”. Golfing news reported on the opening of the new

Sanctuary Wood Course, ... under delightful climatic conditions and before a large and representative throng. ... The second hole, is a short one, bordering Zouave Wood, was almost halved, and was noticeable only for extraordinary pungent odour which assailed the nostrils near the green, and which affected the putting of both players, as they each took three putts for a short distance”(Beaver, 1988:8).

Advertising focussed on tree and real estate sales. In response to the destruction of the tree-lined avenues in the Ypres area, in March 1916 Fill, Potts & Co. advertised 250,000,000 poplar saplings for sale, their particular speciality being old world avenues (Beaver, 1988:35). In the *B.E.F. Times* on 15 August, 1917, Feddup of

Glencorse Wood offered for sale an estate “situated in one of the nicest parts of Belgium. Heavily wooded. Has been shot over. Owner desirous of leaving” (Beaver, 1988:210). Humour took some of the horror out of the experiences.

The destruction of trees, as woods and as tree-lined roads, and the production of war landscapes impacted on the soldiers who lived, fought and travelled through these landscapes. Surviving soldier diaries, letters and memoirs are suggestive of the experiences of a great number of soldiers who passed through these landscapes, many of whom died in its destruction. Families, friends and relatives of soldiers in combat had little idea of what their sons, brothers, fathers, cousins, uncles and friends were actually experiencing in the field. War memorial committees’ choice of a memorial avenue of trees may have reminded returned service men of the beautiful tree-lined roads in France and Belgium but could have easily connected with alternative memories and experiences of trees in the landscape of war.

For many soldiers front line military experiences undermined war rhetoric and facilitated the development of cynical attitudes towards Empire and duty (Acton, 1999). This cynicism may have undermined their willingness to adhere to the official memory of the avenues, disrupting official memory. No single narrative of the war could reconcile the diverse experiences of the home front and the military front. This disruption to the collective memory process may have presented the same level of influence on the robustness of memory itself as the impact of the rejection of religious institutions by the returned soldiers had on the “place of religion in New Zealand society” (Lineham, 2007:492).

Summary:

Ultimately war memorial avenues of trees could never represent one single representation of the past, one single memory. Their dual roles of official commemoration and substitute grave stone meant that their interpretation would draw on multitude memories. The apparent success of national discourses on the meaning and interpretation of war can be gauged by the almost universal use of claims to duty and sacrifice. Despite their widespread use, this did not give stability to the official memory of the men and women being commemorated. The democratisation of memory, the naming of the dead and the individualised nature of memorialisation

offered by the memorial avenues enabled the disruption of an authoritative collective memory while appearing to regulate it. The sanitised memory represented by the dedicatory stone focussed on the national and local need for understanding and finding meaning in the war, its human cost and in the post-war years, its purpose (Vance, 1997). The realities of war, not explicitly mentioned, were not forgotten by the war generation but became part of the private memories, publicly alluded to in the militaristic performances of the annual ceremonies of Anzac Day (Henry, 2002).

The memorial avenues brought together disparate public and private memories from national, local, individual and military experiences at particular locations. Although the memorials were honouring one persona of those who served and /or died, the memories brought to these spaces were from the various other identities fulfilled as a member of a family and community. Personal participation in construction of this dual memorial space allowed for multiple private interpretations of the trees, war and memory within the overarching official memory. In spite of attempts to control or define memory of the war and those who died, the memorial avenues have experienced the instability of memory, contested privately and publicly by the very people for whom the memorials were seen in the future to be erected for, those who mourned.

Chapter 9

Arboreal Eloquence

... the landscape [is] a text on which generations write their recurring obsession (Schama, 1995:12).

Recalling the Research Questions

The motivation for this thesis was that little had previously been written on the use of trees for commemorative purposes despite its symbolic resonance over the last 150 years. During this time, the commemorative tree has been a popular commemorative marker and as effective an anchor of memory in the landscape as any other form. The memory ascribed to these trees must be understood in terms of the era in which the tree was planted and not just from a distance. Over time the memory represented by the trees and its prescribed meanings, has changed. For all its power and fragility, memory is not permanent but nor is it so ephemeral as to exhibit no robustness at all. Instead memory exists in a state of instability that leaves it open to challenge and to constant reassessment based on the needs of the viewing generation. This instability also allows the memory, and thus the tree, both to fade and to be remade as part of the domestic landscape of treescape memories (Cloke and Pawson, 2008). However, in some circumstances trees are retrieved and reinscribed with specific memory and made relevant for a new generation. The landscape created by commemorative trees is, therefore, multifunctional, in which social relations support memory, remembrance, forgetting, silences, erasures, and memory slippage.

In demonstrating the above this study investigated the following aim and research questions. The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to evaluating the research in light of these questions. It places particular emphasis on the last of the questions: the persistence of memory.

The aim of the thesis was:

To determine the significance of trees as memorials in the landscapes of countries of relatively recent European settlement

The research questions were:

- What are the relationships between memory, commemoration and landscape, specifically in the context of memorial trees?
- What is the range of commemorative purposes for which trees have been used?
- To what extent have memorial tree practices been shared between places or to what extent are they particular to place?
- What role do commemorative trees play in social history and community building in specific places and nationally?
- How are tree memories re-made over time: do they persist or drain away?
- ***What are the relationships between memory, commemoration and landscape, specifically in the context of memorial trees?***

Cloke and Pawson (2008) have said that the link between memory and memorialisation is the memorial tree. The commemorative tree provides the intersection between landscape, in which the tree symbolizes the physical manifestations of social, political and economic relations; memory, as an unstable, partial and selective collective representation of the past; and commemoration as a distinctive mode of representing and supporting memory using symbolic referents. The tree is co-opted as the medium through which particular memories are ascribed and expressed within broader social relations. Together they represent unstable, biased, authoritative interpretations of an assumed collective memory. It is this instability that opens up the trees to challenges over meaning and interpretation.

Instability is an intrinsic part of the commemorative tree. Built on assumptions of shared pasts, shared experiences and an ability to understand symbolic referents, the

expression of a partial and sanitized memory will resonate with some, alienate others and have no significance at all for yet other groups. This inability to control meaning allows for multiple interpretations based on personal experience, knowledge and understanding used to find meaning in the tree. Employing alternate personal memories has the potential to destabilise hegemonic memory but not necessarily undermine its dominance. The extent to which it does this is circumscribed. As illustrated with the various memorial avenues, personal experiences of war could not be reconciled with official memory. The construction of memory through the official ceremonies at the Ballarat avenue of honour and the North Otago memorial oaks, did nothing to help frame the personal understanding of war and loss. Ultimately, the construction of meaning, while attempted at the official level, is undertaken at the individual level, reinforcing Duncan and Duncan's (1988) notion that individuals bring their own knowledge and understandings to the interpretation of landscape. At one and the same time commemorative trees enrol and disrupt official discourse, yet this gets us no closer to personal memory.

The role and meaning of commemorative trees cannot be guaranteed nor can the perpetuation of memory into the future. In conceptualising the commemorative trees' changing functions Dwyer's (2004) process of becoming has been useful. This idea has given a means of viewing the changing stages of commemorative trees as being on a continuum. This is expressed as the trees and their ascribed memory are exposed to potential cycles of animation, atrophy and reinscription of relevancy or being ascribed new roles.

- ***What is the range of commemorate purposes for which trees have been used?***

For this study an extensive self-constructed inventory of commemorative trees was produced from a variety of formal and informal resources. The inventory has an Australasian focus due to the location of the primary research area in New Zealand and Australia and the accessibility of information on Australian commemorative trees via the internet. On-line inventories and electronic resources were identified and used to add further examples to the inventory, and in some cases, provided narratives of the trees. The locating of these electronic resources was opportune as it opened up the study to an eclectic range of examples and information that would otherwise have not been available. This greater accessibility to data through the internet has assisted in

locating local rituals and customs within wider practices, turning what may have appeared as peculiarly local into representations of broader trends.

From the inventory it was evident that tree commemoration was considerably more extensive than the literature indicated or the author expected. By focussing on the themes of empire and identity, marking of place and memorialising the war dead, the extent to which people and communities have utilized tree commemoration for a wide variety of commemorative purposes was emphasized. Within the inventory events, such as royal celebrations and war, presented time specific periods of intensive tree planting, whereas trees planted for the marking of place were ongoing from the late nineteenth century. However, the practice has varied over time and space.

The inventory represents the persistence of memory in the landscape remade arboreally. This use of trees has been sustained by the continuing desire to memorialise. Despite competition from a broad range of other commemorative forms, the planting of trees has remained popular and has been employed on a regular basis by a wide range of communities, groups and individuals. However, the trees within the inventory do not only represent those that can be found in the landscape today but also trees that have been removed. It goes a small way to re-imagine the relict memorial landscape while indicating that the picture that has been created is only partial.

- ***To what extent have memorial tree practices been shared between places or to what extent are they particular to place?***

There is a similarity of practice throughout Australasia based on shared cultural roots. It has been shown that there was direct transference of commemorative tree planting as a cultural practice, evident in the commentary on the 1863 royal wedding. There is also similarity in the rituals and the purposes for which trees have been planted with Canada and the United States. Over the years the ritualised format of commemorative tree planting has remained relatively constant, with regional differentiation expressed in the detail rather than the basic changes to the ceremony. Regional variation has highlighted the specificity of place, emphasized by particular suites of events and people; the use of native trees species in commemorative roles; and the use of local forms of music and nationalistic songs. This study has linked practices in New

Zealand and Australia to wider commemorative practice and trends in Britain, Canada, the United States and beyond.

Part of the commonality of memorial tree practices between places is the celebration of shared events. This identification with others is expressed at a range of geographic scales, at particular times, around particular events and at specific places. Trees have been planted at community based celebrations as well as more private ceremonies by smaller groups. Regional and national celebrations of major anniversaries have included planting schemes of varying sizes. For example a small number of trees were planted for the New Zealand centennial celebration. By comparison, 28 million trees were planted across America in celebration of the bicentenary of George Washington's birthday. Royal celebrations linked New Zealand with the wider British Empire in the celebration of weddings, coronations and reign jubilees. War memorialisation and more recently the commemorating of important First and Second World War anniversaries has joined New Zealand with other Allied and combatant countries in international practices surrounding these events. Such events as these have afforded particular periods of intensive planting, chiefly between 1887 and 1937, primarily in relation to royal events and First World War commemoration. This intensity is once again repeated from the 1970s as part of the global surge in commemoration.

The incorporation of examples of commemorative tree practice from beyond Australasia allowed for broader spatial and temporal comparisons. Local trends which appeared to be peculiar to particular areas have been seen to be part of wider practices not necessarily restricted to former settler colonies of the British Empire. Diffusion of new innovations in commemorative tree planting had temporal and spatial variation, such as the spread of Arbor Day and the relatively late introduction to America of trees planted in memory of people in the 1880s. This was more explicitly illustrated through the diffusion of the use of memorial avenues for commemorating the First World War. There was a geographic pattern in the spread of the idea of the avenues in Australia, moving out from Ballarat, Victoria, across the state and picked up by other places in other states. The memorial avenue was thought by Haddow (1987) to have been peculiar to Australia. However, avenues have since been found in New Zealand, Western Europe, Canada and the United States, whether by diffusion of the idea from

Australia or by independent development. Also highlighted was the emergence of the active role of women's groups in the undertaking of tree-planting and the anchoring of memory importance to women in the landscape. The earliest trees were planted in the United States before appearing in the New Zealand and Australia.

Trends and events have linked places and countries but it has been the specificity of marking of place that has drawn communities together in the celebration and memorialisation of their own events and local people. The greater portion of place based planting has been place specific commemoration and undertaken by a wide range of groups and individuals, engaging varying scales of collective memory. Although specific, these trees also lie within broader planting trends.

- ***What role do commemorative trees play in social history and community building in specific places and nationally?***

Commemorative trees have played an important role in the marking of social history and actively contributed to community building. This commemorative form has represented almost every aspect of commemoration that communities have undertaken. All commemorative trees are linked by four strands: firstly they represent a distinctive desire to commemorate. Secondly they represent the idea of a shared past and a shared understanding of that past. If this were not a fundamental aspect of commemorative tree planting, then the trees could not be ascribed with statements of nation, power, identity, belonging, ideals of war or be markers to commonly held truths at both the local and national levels. Thirdly, all commemorative trees mark and make place. And fourthly, the marking of place is directly linked to identity and belonging, once again both locally and nationally. Both identity and belonging have been central to the discussion on royal trees and memorial avenues. Belonging to a particular place and identification with others has been articulated at a range of geographic scales and links the global with the local.

Place is where generations have written their securities and insecurities in the trees. Over the last 150 years there has been a great deal of social change. Political fluxes and expansionist policies, social and economic progress, and at times social insecurities, have led to increased memorialisation. In the past this was evident in

‘statumania’; widespread social change and the rise of nationalism resulted in the heightened popularity of erecting of monuments to national symbols and ideals (Michalski, 1998). The same pattern of social change and heightened popularity of commemoration can be seen at particular points in time reflected in the trees. It is specifically associated with the commemorating of the First World War which resulted in social upheaval, widespread mourning and a break with the past (Winter, 1995). Since the beginning of the 1970s social change and insecurity in the face of ongoing conflict and economic uncertainty has produced a new surge of commemoration. This has evoked a nostalgic yearning expressed through the personalisation of memory (Lowenthal, 1998). The resulting intensity of memorialisation to rival ‘statumania’, across all commemoratives forms and particularly in tree numbers. The personalisation of memory has been at the individual as well as the local level, thus producing a marked increase in the marking of place.

- ***How are tree memories re-made over time: do they persist or drain away?***

Persistence of memory?

The persistence of memory has varied across different tree genres. The broadest range of responses have been exhibited within a single genre, that of memorial avenues. The persistence of memorial avenues in the landscape today is tied to the successful mediation between memory and change. As evident in Haddow’s (1987) work this has not always been the case in the past. Of the 128 avenues planted between 1917 and 1921 in Victoria, Australia, identified by Haddow (1987), only 52 (41%) were found to still be in existence in 1987. Haddow attributed much of the loss to road widening, seeing the political landscape replacing the vernacular (Haddow, 1988a). By the end of the 1920s, the decade in which most of the avenues of honour and memorial avenues were planted, trees and their official memory were facing challenges of progress and neglect. Public works, such as the construction of a new subway in Brooklyn, New York threatened 2300 memorial maple saplings planted along Bedford Avenue. At the end of 1923 no definitive proposal on the new location for the trees had been reached (*New York Times*, 30/12/1923). In 1925 the trees still remained in situ, but their memorial status had been downgraded with the removal of the name plates (*New York Times*, 7/6/1925). In North Otago, New Zealand, memorial trees were removed for road widening as early as the 1920s and others severely

pruned back to prevent interference with the power lines (Pawson, 2004). It did not take long for avenues of honour in Australia to become the focus of negative attention. A traveller passing through Leongatha, Victoria, in 1929 was so disgusted with the deplorable state of some of the trees in their avenue of honour that he or she wrote to the newspaper commenting on the avenue's condition (*The Sun*, 6/4/1928). Unfortunately this was not a one off case. Tree condition and tree failure were highly visible indicators as to how the trees were faring. Inappropriate choices of tree species and adverse climatic condition, such as drought, along with poor ground preparation and maintenance, took their toll on the trees and the appearance of the avenues. In some cases lessons were learned and dead trees were replaced with more suitable species, including natives (Haddow, 1987; Wycherley, 1994). By 1930 neglect and vandalism was also being reported in America (*Washington Post*, 13/5/2002) and Britain (*The Times*, 29/3/1930). Everyday life had taken its toll on the avenues.

These are only a few of the issues faced in mediating memory and change. A range of mechanisms have contributed to the removal of trees and avenues. Attitudes expressed by government officials, such as that reportedly spoken by the Sandringham city engineer, that “all the trees must die eventually, whether it be now or in to years time”, did not help retention (*The Herald*, 24/3/1964). Extreme weather events have represented specific threats through wind, drought, flooding, hurricanes and wild fire. For example Hurricane Bertha destroyed 74 memorial trees honouring marines killed in Beirut in 1983, in Jacksonville, North Carolina, USA (*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, 20/8/1996) and summer floods during 2007 damaged trees at the British National Memorial Arboretum (www.britishlegion.org.uk). Dutch Elm Disease in Britain and parts of Canada has devastated the elm tree population (Gustafson, 2004). Economic down turn during the Depression years may have affected maintenance of the trees, as at this time many of the memorial avenues were still relatively young. Motor vehicle damage has also contributed to loss. These mechanisms have affected all genres of commemorative trees. The 1863 royal wedding trees planted at the site of a new boys' school in Christchurch, New Zealand, were felled in the 1920s to make way for new buildings (Amodeo, 2006). At the Ferry Road planting for the same event, the tree named for Princess Alexandra died

and was replaced in 1914 (*The Sun*, 9/7/1914): both the Prince and Princess trees have subsequently been removed.

In considering the various roles of commemorative trees there is a lack of discussion on the meaning of success or failure of trees in relation to the needs of the people who planted them. A tree is deemed unsuccessful if its memory has faded and become detached. It is argued here that in some cases success should be gauged in terms of redundancy, by seeing redundancy as being the successful fulfilment of the needs of the people who planted the trees.

There appears to be a difference between the various intentions of the planters and the academic understanding of the ways in which memorial trees function as memory ascribed to the trees evolves. This is particularly the case with the First World War memorial avenues. Much of the literature on the avenues speaks of the trees as surrogate grave stones. But few have pursued the psychological role these trees fulfil as surrogate graves and the potential for them to act as physical props during the grieving process. Because of the emotional turmoil associated with death and the added burden of not having a body to bury, this opens up possibilities of emotional attachments to the trees because of what they represent. For the planters, the psychological need for these trees then must differ from those who, for example, plant trees to mark milestones. Therefore, these trees fulfil other functions not openly articulated or a subconscious need. This emotional attachment has been alluded to in relation to war memorial avenues in chapter 8.

Taking memorial avenues as an example: is there a relationship between the period of mourning and the decline of the avenue? The point here is that for those working through the grieving process, the trees fulfil different roles at different times, changing at particular stages of mourning, acceptance and reconciliation. At the end of the process people may no longer have had need for the trees as physical props. The emotional attachment to the trees for some will have waned. This detachment from the trees could permit the avenue to fall into neglect, having fulfilled their psychological purpose and in many respects having been made redundant. The growing loss of interest in and the need for the avenue would then create the opening

by which other mechanisms of tree loss could permanently affect the viability of the avenue.

Equally important has been the loss of the knowledge of avenues through the movement of people away from an area or their deaths, especially when identifying markers, such as plaques, signs and commemorative stones, have been removed. This loss of knowledge has left many memorial avenues in vulnerable positions when local councils in charge of these assets have no historical knowledge of them. Together with the mechanisms mentioned above, these variables have influenced, to varying degrees, the survivability of the memory of the avenues and the avenues themselves. Without the knowledge of the role and function of these trees, the avenues too have become part of Cloke and Pawson's (2008) treescapes. However, unlike the royal trees and other commemorative trees that mark place, some of the avenues have been retrieved from the treescape.

Much of the present day recognition and retrieval of many avenues has come about due to threats to their existence through intended partial or total removal or the actual removal of trees without notice. Possible loss of the trees has aroused concerned and angry responses from communities, highlighting the continuing value of the trees, although their meaning may have seldom been alluded to in the recent past. Increased interest in family history and military service has raised the profile of memorial avenues as important family and community links between the present and the past. This has been a common response of communities in Britain, America and Australia. For some local councils, unaware of the value or meaning of the trees to the wider community, these responses have been a surprise, as was the case in Dartmoor, Australia (www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au/dartmoor/avenue.htm). Equally surprising can be the negative reaction to preservation campaigns by people who live with the trees outside their properties. In Oamaru, New Zealand, there was some opposition to the refurbishment of the crosses marking the North Otago memorial trees. Some people were uncomfortable with the notion of white crosses marking roadsides in the town, also that the white crosses brought too much attention to trees some people wished to see removed (K. Skinner, pers. comm.). It is through continued knowledge of and interest in such avenues that they will persist in the landscape.

Aging of trees is now taking its toll. Over the past twenty years local councils and communities in various countries have had to make decisions on the future of their avenues. Facing the ultimate loss of trees due to old age and safety issues has seen some interesting innovations. The replacing of trees that have been removed has been standard practice in many places for a number of decades. In more recent times some communities have chosen to recycle their mature trees by having their trunks turned into chainsaw sculptures, in situ. Lakes Entrance and Dartmoor in Victoria, Australia saved six trunks of 26 Monterey Cypress trees and nine of sixty Atlantic Cedar trees, respectively, to be turned into sculptures (www.skp.com.au/memorials2/pages/30098.htm; www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au/dartmoor/avenue.htm). The resulting carvings depicted general war-time scenes from the military and home front. In Legerwood, Tasmania, the seven conifer trees planted for seven men who lost their lives were sculpted to reflect the home or military life of the soldier named on the trees. This representation of a personal aspect of life continued the special association between the soldier and the tree (www.dorsetonline.org.au/trees.htm). Chainsaw sculpture has been an inventive option in preventing the total loss of the avenue and its memory.

Communities, therefore, continue to find relevancy and meaning in war memorial avenues. Although there has been some hollowing out of meaning and loss of avenues over the years, there has also been active retrieval of avenues through restoration and reinscription of meaning and relevance. In Australia, this has been facilitated through targeted federal government programmes that have provided incentives for the active promotion of war memory and the refurbishment of war memorials. Programmes such as Operation Restoration, as part of Australia Remembers 1945-1995, made available AU\$10,000,000 for war memorial restoration projects (Inglis, 1998). A more recent programme called Saluting Their Service contained a commemorations grants scheme through which communities could apply for money for a range of projects including the restoration of war memorials of which avenues of honour have benefited, the promotion of the history and memory of war service and sacrifice, and the production of educational resources (www.dva.gov.au). While such programmes cannot prevent the aging of trees they provide a framework for the continued relevancy of war memory and avenues of honour as markers of that memory, for Australian citizens in general and for young Australians in particular.

Persistence of use

As memory persists in war memorial avenues, commemorative trees have continued to be planted in the landscape in increasing numbers over the past two to three decades. This has been very much part of the surge in commemoration since the 1970s. Trees continue to be planted for a plethora of events and people. They still hold special resonance in the memorialising of death, particularly under tragic circumstances and as a result of conflict. The planting of memorial trees has become part of the healing process for school shootings and have been employed as part of the commemorative outpouring associated with the September 11 (9/11) tragedy. In the United States, American Forests unveiled a Memorial Trees campaign soon after the event to honour both the victims and heroes of the attacks. In conjunction with various partners 'Patriot Trees for America', 'Trees Across America' 'Eddie Bauer Memorial Tree Groves' and the 'Tribute Trees' programmes promoted the planting of trees to commemorate those who lost their lives and those who risked their lives to help others (Anon, 2002a; 2002b). The events of 9/11 had such resonance that trees in memory of those who died were planted in other countries, such as Northern Ireland and Britain, who themselves have been victims of past terrorist actions. At Beacon Hill Park, Victoria, British Columbia, a tree was planted as a living memorial to all those deeply touched by the events of 9/11. Trees in some places have become natural responses to tragedy and violent death.

Trees continue to be planted for war commemoration. Past war and military conflicts are commemorated with new memorial trees. In recent years new avenues and groves have been planted to mark service and sacrifice in the Korean and the Vietnam wars. Examples can be found in Scotland and Australia. In 2000 American Forests launched a memorial tree-planting programme called Operation Silent Witness, using Eisenhower Green Ash trees. The ash trees honoured the 16.5 million American men and women who fought during the Second World War (Dawe, 2001). More recent conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq have also been memorialised with trees. At Fort Stewart, Georgia, USA, a Warrior's Walk has been established to memorialise those of the Third Infantry Division who have died in the Iraq conflict. Since its dedication in 2003, 317 trees (as at 8/1/07) have been planted, each tree remembering the death of a soldier rather than the conflict (www.cbsnews.com). Zoroya (2005) argues that this most recent round of memorialisation reflects a shared need to take action, to

honour sacrifice and to recognise every death through naming. The desire to individualise loss and name the dead has not diminished since the First World War.

Perhaps the most ambitious ongoing schemes to ensure the persistence of memory are those being undertaken by the National Arboretum at Alrewas, Staffordshire, in Britain and TREENET, in Australia. The British National Arboretum is situated on one hundred and fifty acres of restored sand and gravel pits, set within the National Forest, and comprises 130 memorials of national importance. It is a site of remembrance which celebrates service and sacrifice and the victims of conflict. Many of the memorials are unique to the Arboretum, such as the Shot at Dawn memorial and the Ex-Prisoner of War memorial (www.nationalmemorialarboretum.org). The Arboretum has provided space to remember the multiple experiences of the war generations and those of more recent conflicts so that their service and sacrifice shall not be forgotten and that the memory may endure. TREENET, an Australian group, launched their 2015 Avenues of Honour project in 2003. It is the aim of the project to honour every Australian killed in the line of duty through recording and protecting old avenues and establishing new ones in time to celebrate the 100th anniversary of Anzac Day in 2015 (Lawry, 2004). This represents part of Australia's commitment to never forget the sacrifices made on its behalf.

The marking of place has continued to grow in popularity. Communities in New Zealand, Australia, Britain and the United States have all marked important Second World War anniversaries and associations. The pace of commemoration is quickening as the age of the veterans increases and their numbers decline. While trees have been planted for important battles and dates associated with the Second World War, other older conflicts have also been celebrated, including the bicentenary of the Battle of Trafalgar in 2005. These events, combined with the coming of the Millenium and important royal events, such as the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Queen's reign, and a multitude of other events and personal memories, have added a considerable number of trees to the memorial landscape marking place throughout Britain, Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand over the last eight years.

What of the future?

Today commemoration is as popular as ever despite the fact that it has not moved beyond the partial and sanitised representations of the past that many authors accuse earlier memorials and monuments of being. In the drive to memorialise and commemorate communities have made similar choices as those before them even though there are many examples of memorials, monuments and commemorative trees for which social memory no longer has any linkages. Does it matter then that the role attributed to these modes of memory do not work long term? Is it in the fulfilment of the immediate needs of the community that they are more effective? Two recent New Zealand events perhaps bring particular aspects of memory into perspective. First is the early morning removal of a First World War memorial gateway from the former Grey Main School in Greymouth on Sunday, 6 January, 2008. This action outraged local people and caused offence that such action was taken against a war memorial. The removal of the memorial was termed as “sacrilege”, “desecration”, “betrayal” and “cultural insensitivity” in various newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor. The event highlights the sacred overtones that war memorials possess in New Zealand and has been perceived as an attack on memory that is still active and entrenched in the community even after nearly nine decades. An added layer of complexity is the transfer of war memorials to private ownership with the sale of crown assets. This is when the legal rights of private ownership come up against perceived public moral ownership of war memorials. As found at One Tree Hill in Auckland, those who have control of the landscape, also control meaning and representation.

The second event was the death of Sir Edmund Hillary on 11 January 2008. Much discussion has gone into how to appropriately memorialise Hillary and commemorate his extraordinary achievements in New Zealand. The main debate is about whether to memorialise Sir Ed with something physical, as in a monument, the naming of a mountain or a stretch of highway, the designation of a public holiday or to support his work in the Himalayas. During his lifetime he had been honoured in ways that few before him had. He is immortalised on the New Zealand five dollar note, a statue was raised of him at Mount Cook and schools and streets have been named after him in response to his achievements. Memory of him is already well established in the landscape. The importance of making the right choice for memorialising Sir Ed is

that whatever is chosen has the ability to perpetuate his memory into the future and not to flounder and languish after a few years or a decade or two.

What of the future of commemorative trees in the landscape today? When a commemorative tree is planted in public space it is normally vested in the local council who are charged with the trees' maintenance and general well-being. Most councils, as in the case of Melbourne and Christchurch, have a replacement policy when a commemorative tree dies, although it can take varying amounts of time for replacement trees to appear. However, what are the future prospects of memory in the landscape? It would appear if councils listen to consultancy firms there may be little prospect of commemorative trees remaining identifiable in the future. In Melbourne, Australia, a consultancy firm was commissioned to do an inventory and report on plaques and memorials in the City of Melbourne's parks and gardens. The report made a number of recommendations, two of which are important here:

Any plaque that has lost its relevance or meaning should be retired – plaques returned to sponsor or presented to an appropriate organisation

Where a tree dies or is removed that has an associated plaque, the plaque may be removed before a new tree is planted if the plaque is over 5 yrs old (Susan Shaw Consultancy, 2003 (no pagination)).

This begs the question of how one defines relevancy and measures loss of meaning, especially in light of reactions to the actual or proposed removal of avenues of honour and other trees planted as war memorials. Also brought into question is the length of time memory marked by trees and plaques can legitimately be expected to be resident in the landscape. Therefore, is there an expiry date on perpetuity? Regardless of the demands on public space for the planting of commemorative trees, it can only be hoped that future management of the memorial landscape employs greater sensitivity to the processes of marking and making place than the management style recommended above.

Contributing to memory

Memory, landscape, and commemoration are fruitful areas for further exploration. One possibility explores the upsurge in commemoration over the last three decades. In these decades how are memory and trees remade in an ever-changing present? How does this commemoration represent social, political and economic relations? In relation to the marking and making of place, is the abundance of commemoration today contributing to the making of place or the cluttering of places? Also, in looking at memory and commemoration of today, since the foundation of all memorialisation is unstable and the landscape is replete with memorials that have hollowed out, why this persistence of use?

Schools offer a commemorative landscape for exploration. The planting of commemorative trees was popular in the past, especially as a response to the celebration of royal events. This practice emerged with the 1887 golden jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria. Some schools planted trees to mark all royal jubilees and coronations until the end of the 1930s. Why was the practice popular and what roles or functions did the rituals, trees and memory have in face of a relatively transient student population?

A comment in chapter 6 was made on the lack of indigenous memory in the landscape. This was a statement made in relation to Western memory work. Another possibility is exploring how indigenous peoples and minority groups work inside and outside this framework to anchor their own memories in the landscape.

In returning to this thesis, in contributing to the limited literature on commemorative trees, this study has:

- highlighted possible alternative readings of commemorative trees based on their intrinsic instability. This instability of memory has opened commemorative trees to challenges to interpretation and meaning and questions over whose memories are projected.
- identified a more extensive use of commemorative trees and for a broader range of purposes than evident in existing literature. Appendix 1 on memorial

avenues has been added as a resource and physically adds to the empirical data previously available.

- confirmed the cultural transference of commemorative tree planting practices from Britain to New Zealand and Australia. These practices had previously been assumed to be part of the transfer of British life to the colonies but this had not actually been substantiated. The ritualised ceremonies of planting were found to be similar throughout New Zealand, Australia, Canada, Britain and the United States. The marking of place drew on both shared and place specific events and memories and has been shown to be part of broader international trends.
- drawn attention to the need of researchers to understand the notions of memory and symbolism from the point of view of the people doing the commemorating and the era in which the trees were planted and not from the distance of years.
- established that commemorative tree planting has been an important contributor to the marking and making of place. They have contributed to the evolution of places through the marking of global connections, shifting power relations, ongoing cultural links and the specificity of place.
- shown that there has been both a persistence of memory and in tree planting practices over the last 150 years. Tree memories remain active as long as the memories continue to stay current in the community. Once they fade tree memories are open to change, atrophy and to draining away from the landscape where the trees slip back into the domestic landscape. Some are retrieved from this treescape, reinscribed and made relevant for a new generation.

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Christchurch City Council, February 2005

Stuart Nicoll, Parks and Recreation, City of Melbourne. 28 June 2005

Andrea Wisden, Automobile Association of Great Britain, email communication 24/9/2005 and 28/9/2005

Kathleen Stringer, North Otago Museum. May, 2006.

Janice Sinclair, 22 January 2007 (great niece of the Paisley brothers)

Carol Smith, 25 April 2008 (When visiting One Tree Hill in October 2007, she went looking for what tree had been planted. At that time she was unable to find any tree or trees planted as a replacement for the pine tree.)

Electronic Resources

Electronic Databases

Imperial War Museum War Memorial Inventory www.ukiwm.org.uk

Irish War Memorials Project (IWMP) www.irishwarmemorials.ie

The Times Digital Archives – 1775-1985

The New York Times Digital Archive 1851-2001

Papers Past (New Zealand newspapers)

Factiva databases

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APPENDIX 1. Memorial Avenues

Event	Date of event	reference	Location	State	Trees	reference
Boer War	December 1901	Dargavel, 1999:40	Horsham	Vic		
Boer War	1902	Cockerell, 2004	Wallace St, Apsley	Vic	Quercus sp	
WWI	1914-1918	Cockerell, 2004	Memorial Drive, Gridley St, Eumundi	QLD	20 trees planted - various	
WWI	Aug 1916	Dargavel, 2000	Laurieton in the Camden Haven district near Port Macquarie	NSW	157 pines and camphor laurels	
WWI/ 2nd ann of the Battle of Ypres	20/04/1917	Fulton, 1996	high School, Vinning St, Victoria	BC, Canada	14 maples	
WWI/King's birthday	1917-1919	Ballarat Courier, 5/6/1917; Ballarat Star, 20/8/1917; BS, 27/8/17;BS, 3/9/17; BS	Burrumbeet Rd, Ballarat	Vic	3912 trees, various species	
Arbor Day/WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 15/6/1917	School of Mines, Ballarat	Vic	18 trees	
Arbor Day/WWI	Jun-17 1997	Dargavel, 2000; Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, Learmonth	Sunraysia Highway, Learmonth	Vic	222 trees - oaks and elms (English, Dutch, Scotch, Purple)	
WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 2/7/1917	Eureka Stockade Reserve, Ballarat	Vic	about 61 pinus insignis	
WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 4/7/1917	Eureka Stockade Reserve, Ballarat	Vic	Golden cypress	
WWI	1917	The Argus, 23/7/1917	Ballarat Orphanage, Ballarat	Vic	1200 (?) pines	
	28/07/1917 *		Cheltenham	Vic	http://localhistory.kingston.vic.gov.au/htm/article/348.htm	
WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 13/8/17	Ballarat North	Vic	170 oaks, elms and planes	
WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 13/8/17	Waubra	Vic		
WWI	1917	Ballarat Star, 27/8/17; BS, 3/9/17	Melbourne Road, Ballarat East	Vic		

	planted Arbor Day, 1917, officially opened						
WWI	1918 *	Cowra, NSW	NSW	Sugar gums, Silky oaks, peppercorn tree	http://www.skp.com.au/memorials/pages/20173.htm		
WWI	11-Aug-17 *	Digby	Vic	97 elms	www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au/digby/ww1.htm		
WWI	1917	Haddow, 1988b; Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Seymour	115 trees			
WWI	1917	Cockerell, 2004	Eramosa Rd, Station St, Somerville	6 trees remaining, Piatanus sp			
WWI	1917	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Cambrain Hills	62 trees			
WWI	1917-1919 *		Yeronga Park, Brisbane area	96 weeping figs and flame trees	http://www.epa.qld.gov.au/projects/heritage/index.cgi?place=602462&back=1		
WWI	22/05/1918	Cockerell, 2004; The Sun, 2 March 1929; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Leongatha	186 trees, English Elm, English Oak, Chestnut-leaved oak, Quercus aff. Canariensis			
WWI	2-Jun-18 *		Hotspur	40 Kurrajong trees	http://www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au/hotspur/avenue.htm		
WWI	8/06/1918	Weekly Courier 13/6/1918	Franklin Village to Youngtown	36 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au		
WWI	June/July 1918	Weekly Courier 13/6/1918	Scottsdale		www.soldierswalk.org.au		
WWI	3-Jul-18	The Mercury, 4 July 1918 *	Bothwell	108 Mercury 68 trees planted; Examiner 97 out of 100	www.soldierswalk.org.au/other/bothwell.html		
WWI	7-Jul-18	The Mercury, 8/7/1918; The Examiner, 8/7/1918 *	Burnie		www.soldierswalk.org.au		
WWI	20-Jul-18	Weekly Courier 25/7/1918	Breadalbane	30 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au		
WWI	23-Jul-18	CD; Weekly Courier, 25 July 1918 *	Bream Creek		www.soldierswalk.org.au/other/breamCreek.html		
WWI	3-Aug-18 *		Hobart	over 520 cedars	www.soldierswalk.org.au/gallery/1planting.html		
WWI	7-Aug-18 *		Werribee		http://www.werribee.org.au/tourism/html/site_5_6_7_8.htm		
WWI	10-Aug-18	The Examiner 13/8/1918; Weekly Courier 15/8/1918 *	Cressy	60 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au		
WWI	10/08/18	Cockerell, 2004; *	Bacchus Marsh	281 Canadian elms	http://users.netconnect.com.au/~janmac/bacchus.html		

WWI	10/08/1918	Cockrell, 2004; Haddow, 1988a	Mt Macedon Rd, Mt Macedon	Vic	Quercus palustris; 154 scarlet oaks, Quercus coccineaPlaques
WWI	2-3week of Aug 1918	The Mercury, 22 Aug 1918; CD	Kempton	Tas	30 trees
WWI	Prior to 22 Aug 1918	Weekly Courier, 29/8/1918; Mercury, 21/9/1918 *	Ouse	Tas	11 trees planted, 10 to the fallen, 1 willow planted to commemorate victory of the allies of the last few days www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	23-Aug-18	The Mercury, 31 Aug 1918*	Ellendale	Tas	23-25 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au/other_ellendale.html
WWI	24-Aug-18	Weekly Courier 29/8/1918 *	Longford	Tas	150 trees possibly www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	26-Aug-18	Examiner, 31 Aug 1918 *	St Thomas' Church, Avoca	Tas	8 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	28/08/1918	Cockrell, 2004; *	Booroopki, West Wimmera	Vic	35 trees http://www.ballaratgenealogy.org.au/goroke/booroopki_news.htm
WWI	31-Aug-18	The Examiner, 3/9/1918; Weekly Courier 5/9/1918; *	Beaconsfield	Tas	50 plane trees www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	31-Aug-18	*; The Mercury 3/9/1918	Glenora	Tas	59 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	31-Aug-18	*; The Examiner 3/9/1918	Macquarie Plains	Tas	4 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	7-Sep-18	The Mercury, 9 Sept 1918; Weekly Courier, 12 Sept 1918 *	Rifle range, Bellenvie	Tas	23 Macrocarpa + others www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	7/09/1918	Cockrell, 2004; *	Dartmoor	Vic	60 Atlantic Cedars http://www.speccom.au/?sp=r2003&id=2432
WWI	7 or 8 Sept 1918	Weekly Courier, 12 Sept 1918 *	Jericho	Tas	27 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au/other_jericho.html
WWI	early Sept 1918	The Mercury, 10 Sept 1918 *	Bagdad	Tas	25 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au/other_bagdad.html
WWI	3rd week Sept 1918	The Mercury, 23 Sept 1918 *	Aspley	Tas	presume 18 trees www.soldierswalk.org.au/other_apsley.html
WWI	14/09/1918	Cockrell, 2004; *	Woodend	Vic	224 English Oaks www.heritage.vic.gov.au (Heritage Register Online)
WWI	15/09/1918	Cockrell, 2004	Gipps St, Tamworth	NSW	

WWI	20/09/1918	Cockerell, 2004; *	Station St, Wyndham St, Hawthorn St, Roma	Qld	102 trees planted, 93 bottle trees remaining	http://www.firstaif.info/42/line2/memorials.htm
WWI	21/09/1918	Weekly Courier, 26/9/1918 *	Lefroy	Tas	11 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	September 1918	The Examiner 5/9/1918 *	North Motton	Tas		www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	September 1918	City of Casey, 2001	Wilson & Scanlin Sts, Berwick	Vic	35 english & pin oaks	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
WWI	28/09/1918	The Mercury, 1 Oct 1918 *; CD from Tas; *	Camarvon; Port Arthur	Tas	possibly 39 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au/other_camarvon ; http://thegardenfamily.com/cemeteries/PortArthur/Avenue/index.htm
WWI	3/10/1918	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Maffra	Vic	139 trees	
WWI	15/10/1918 *		Legerwood	Tas	9 trees - Douglas Fir x2, giant sequoia x2, deodar x3, Weymouth pine x2	www.dorsetonline.org.au/trees.htm
WWI	October 1918	The Mercury 5/11/1918 *	Nubeena	Tas	51 trees	www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI		NYT 26 Dec 1918	Jefferson Highway, Louisiana	USA		
WWI/II	1918 & 1945, after the end of each war *	(Author Ian Touzel)	Yackandandah Rd, Staghorn Flat	Vic	oaks, pencil cypruses, poplars	http://staghornflathistory.net/tline.php ; http://staghornflathistory.net/photos/photos/avenue.jpg
WWI	1918	The Age, 17 Nov 1918	Euroa, Hume Highway	Vic	135 trees, 133 men died	
WWI	1918?	Examiner *	Bishopsbourne	Tas		www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	1918		Frankston	Vic		http://www.frankstonleader.com.au/article/2006/11/24/7551_fsv_news.html
WWI	1918 (Cockerell, 2004, AIV)	The Age, 10 Sept 1927; The Herald 19 Sept 1963	Sandringham; Beach Rd, Sandringham	Vic	mainly flowering gums; 60 Norfolk pines	
WWI+	1918	City of Casey, 2001; Cockerell, 2004; Haddow, 1988b	South Gippsland Highway, Tooradin	Vic	18 flowering red gums; 18 trees planted, Eucalyptus ficifolia currently 60 trees remaining	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
WWI	1918	Cockerell, 2004	Bahnarring Rd, Bahnarring	Vic	33 Pinus radiata	

WWI	1918/1922	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Kingston St, Kingston	Vic	286 trees planted, Elms, poplars, Fraxinus sp
WWI	1918	Cockerell, 2004	Tourello Rd, Tourello	Vic	36 trees planted, Juglans regia
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Coldstream	Vic	60 trees
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Garibaldi	Vic	
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Lismore	Vic	180 trees
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Red Bank	Vic	
WWI	1918	Haddow, 1988b	Roke Wood	Vic	
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Rokewood Junction	Vic	67 trees
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Seville	Vic	
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Smythesdale	Vic	122 trees
WWI	1918	Haddow, 1988b; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	The Heart	Vic	50 Gums
WWI	1918	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Werneth	Vic	10 trees
WWI	1918-1922	Haddow, 1988b; Cockerell, 2004	Nathalia	Vic	53 trees planted - Brachychiton populneum
WWI	1918/19	Cockerell, 2004; *	Eltham	Vic	100+ plane trees
WWI	26/01/1919	Cockerell, 2004	Officer	Vic	http://www.elthameastps.vic.edu.au/Webquests/Eltham%20Web%20Quest%2006/History%20Walk/slide16.htm
WWI	11-Apr-19	NYT 6 April 1919	Camp Dix, NJ	USA	5000 trees, Norway maples, Lombardy poplars, Oriental sycamores, American lindens, each tree to be named
WWI	April (?) 1919	NYT 1 Dec 1918	The Mall, Central Park, NYC	USA	40 elms
WWI	17/07/1919	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Epsom	Vic	17 Cotton Palms, Washingtonia filifera
WWI	Jul-19 *	(18/7/07, site not working)	Lawson, Blue Mountains	NSW	at least 6 trees
WWI	2-Aug-19	CD from Tas/*	Rokeby	Tas	19 American planes + 2 oaks
WWI	3/08/1919 *		Kings Park, Perth	WA	404, mixed species, by 1920 almost 800
					www.kpbog.wa.gov.au/kingspark/honour_avenue.html

WWI/WWII	9/08/1919 Dedicated	City of Casey, 2001	South Gippsland Highway, Cranbourne	Vic	59 English and Portuguese oaks (now consists of 179 trees, additions recognising later conflicts	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
WWI	11/09/1919	Pawson 2004; Ross, 1994	Oamaru	NZ	over 400 oaks	http://www.rlcnews.org.au/stories/families/dedication_of_second_world_war_monument.php
WWI	13/09/1919	Cockerell, 2004; *	Lysterfield, Knox	Vic	4 English oaks for those killed, 10 Silky oaks for the men who returned	http://www.rlcnews.org.au/stories/clubs_and_organisations/historic_lysterfield_avenue_of_honour.php
	September 1919		Memorial Drive, Narre Warren North	Vic	60 oaks	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
	1919	City of Casey, 2001; *	Berwick Grammar School, Berwick	Vic	9 pin and english oaks	http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~surreal/AVG/Resources/war-memorial-cardinia.html
	1919	City of Casey, 2001	Haraway Road, Harkaway	Vic	29 red flowering gum	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
WWI	1919	City of Casey, 2001	High St, Berwick	Vic	123 Black poplars	www.casey.vic.gov.au/history/article.asp?Item=1682
WWI	1919 *		Macleod, Melbourne	Vic	sugar gums - Cockerell, 2004 AIV says 46 trees	http://www.darebin.vic.gov.au/Page/page.asp?page_id=2569&h=0 http://www.skp.com.au/memorials/pages/30569.htm
WWI	1919	Cockerell, 2004	Alexandra Ave, Prescott Ave, Burnside	SA	240 trees remaining ulmus procera	
WWI	1919	Cockerell, 2004	Park 19, Adelaide	SA	ulmus procera	
WWI	1919	Cockerell, 2004	Dandenong	Vic		
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Coburg	Vic	170 trees	
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Landsborough	Vic		
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Lorne	Vic	Morton Bay Figs	
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Talbot	Vic		
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Ullina	Vic		
WWI	1919	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Winslow	Vic	35 trees	
		DOC TC 33 ODT: 4/8/1919-4; 5/8/1919; 12/8/1919. Otago Witness 13/4/1919-5.				
WWI	1919		various sites, Dunedin	NZ	Elms, Poplars, and Ref Flowering Chestnuts	

	planted from Winter 1919 thro the 1920 planting season	Timaru Herald and Council Minutes	Main Road through Fairlie	NZ	
WWI			Upper Junction School, Main North Road (NE Valley), Dunedin	NZ	native beech
WWI	1919/1920s				
WWII	1919/1920s	Maclean & Phillips, 1990:82	Outside Wanganui	NZ	
WWI	27-Mar-20	The Times; UKNIWM (Ref 17350)	Cannon Hill Park, Birmingham	Uk	
WWI	16/10/1920	Cockrell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Grenville	Vic	35 trees, Elms
WWI	11-Nov-20	Winston-Salem Journal, 25 Feb 1999 *	Ninth Street, North Wilkesboro	USA	52 Sugar Maples Factiva
WWI	20-Dec-20 *		Bendigo East School, Bendigo	Vic	27 plaques, presume 27 trees www.skp.com.au/memorials2/default.htm
WWI	20-Dec-20	AWM N/C278 Memorial Clippings: Record of Memorials *	Bushy Park	Tas	www.soldierswalk.org.au
		21/12/1920 awm n/c279 Memorial Clippings *	Mangana	Tas	www.soldierswalk.org.au
		22/12/1920 awm n/c279 Memorial Clippings *	Taranna	Tas	www.soldierswalk.org.au
	opened 1920 *		The Rock Memorial Park, Banjup	NSW	http://www.lockhart.nsw.gov.au/about/1001/1015.html
	1920 *			W.A.	http://www.warmemorials.net/memorials/perth/banjup/banjup.htm
WWI	1920 *		Graceville Memorial Park, Graceville	Qld	52 trees - bunya pines and cotton trees http://www.epa.qld.gov.au/projects/heritage/index.cgi?place=602443&bac k=1
WWI	1920/2002	Washington Post, 13 May 2002	upper 16th Street NW, Washington	USA	568 trees aand markers Factiva
WWI	1920	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Brown's Plains	Vic	30 trees planted
WWI	1920	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Kangaroo Hills	Vic	
WWI	1920	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Kiewa	Vic	Gums and Oaks
WWI	1920	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Linton	Vic	44 English Oak

WWI	1920?	Seattle Times, 8 July 1999	Memorial Way, University of Washington, Seattle	USA	57 sycamores	Factiva
WWI	1920	Cockerell, 2004; *, Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Ararat-Halls Gap Rd, Moyston	Vic	27 Pinus radiata; Mgt Plan indicated 53 trees originally planted	www.ararat.vic.gov.au/Files/Moyston.pdf
WWI	1921	NYT 2 Jan 1921	Minneapolis	USA	elms	
WWI	April 1921; May 1921	Cockerell, 2004; Richards, 2003	Soldiers Park, Collie	WA	99 trees planted Cinnamomum camphora (camphor laurel)	
WWI	1921	Portland Press Herald, 3 May 1999	Baxter Boulevard, Portland Maine	USA	400 Linden trees	Factiva
WWI	24-May-21	UKNIWM (ref 19428)	Stretton on Dunsmore, Warwickshire		An avenue of trees was planted leading up to the memorials, Not a named avenue.	
WWI	30-Jul-21 *		Armadale	W.A.	28 trees	http://www.warmemorials.net/memorials/perth/armadale/armadale.htm
WWI+	July 1921 extended 1950	Richards, 2003	Middleton Rd, Albany	WA	112 red flowering gums	relocated 1956 to Apex Rd, Mt Clarence, Albany; trees planted for WWII, Korea, Vietnam
WWI	started 4/10/1921	Lanken 1997; Fulton, 1996	Sherbourne St, Victoria	BC		
WWI	7/11/1921	NYT 8 Nov 1921	Lincoln Memorial, Washington DC	USA		
WWI	11-Nov-21	NYT 12 Nov 1921	Westchester County, Bronx River Parkway, NYC	USA		
WWI	Nov/Dec 1921	NYT 4 Dec 1921	New Waukegan Rd, Roosevelt Rd, Chicago	USA	240 trees	
WWI	1921 *		Yarrawonga State School, Yarrawonga	Vic	16 Tamarisk trees	www.skp.com.au (assessed 27/12/2006, no longer on site 18/7/07)
WWI	1921	Cockerell, 2004	Emerald	Vic		
WWI	1921	Cockerell, 2004	Wood St, Hawthorn	Vic	30 trees planted - eucalyptus botryoides	

WWI	1921	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Midland Highway, Guildford	Vic	70 trees: Fraxinus, Platanus sps & Quercus palustris
WWI/II	1921	UKNIWM (ref 16206)	Sittingbourne, Kent	UK	Lime trees. Additional trees planted for the fallen of WW2.
WWI	22-Apr-22	Fulton, 1996	Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal	Quebec	First 4 planted, eventually 880 Norway maples lined the street
WWI	1922	NYT, 6 July 1922:	Montreal	Quebec	
WWI	Autumn 1922	Bull, 1986:65; Bagnall, 1953:96	Soldiers' Memorial Park, Greytown	NZ	117 Lime trees, each bearing a small wooden plaque. Originally 2 separate rows planted, later replanted as a true ave
WWI	Arbor Day, 10 May 1922	Lanken 1997; Fulton, 1996	Memorial Avenue, Calgary	Alberta	poplars - 900 planted 1922, by 1927 1700 planted 3 rows deep
WWI	Memorial Day 30/5/1922	American Forestry, July 1922	Lincoln Highway, from Wrightsville to Abbottstown	USA	http://www.lincoln-highway-museum.org/Remember/Remember-Index.html
WWI	May 1922	NYT 31 May 1922	Grand Concourse, Bronx, NYC	USA	950 plaques
WWI	Aug-22 *	Cockerell, 2004	Prince's Highway, Milton Ulladulla	NSW	76 trees
WWI	26-Sep-22	The Times	Bradford	Uk	
WWI	26-Sep-22	The Times	Amphill	Uk	
WWI	27-Oct-22	The Times	Billericay, Essex		oaks
WWI	11-Nov-22	Seattle Times, 1 July 1988	Des Moines Memorial Drive & Marine View Drive, Des Moines	USA	Check numbers with all news and web articles 1,000 American Elms Factiva
WWI	1922	Cockerell, 2004, AI	Soldiers Ave, Warringah	NSW	Lophostemon confertus

WWI	25-Apr-23	*/ Cockerell, 2004	Bathurst Rd, Orange	NSW	over 200 Lebanon Cedars planted; 100 trees planted: Cedrus deodara, cedrus libani	http://www.alhs.org.au/cedar.htm
WWI	14/05/1923 planted; 11 Nov 1923 dedicated		Chancellor Matheson Rd, Fort Garry Fulton, 1996 ; Out on a Limb Winnipeg	Manitoba	200 elms; some carries name of 52 deceased soldiers. Avenue lost to Dutch Elm Disease	
WWI	Trees dedicated 23/06/2023	web & Lanken 1997, Canadian Geographic Nov/Dec 1997	Woodlawn Cemetery, Saskatoon	Saskatchewan	original planting 263, (web says 265) over the yrs grown to over 1200	www.city.saskatoon.sk.ca/orq/parks/cemetery/information/memorial.asp
WWI	Planted prior to Dec 1923	NYT 30 Dec 1923; 31 Jan 1924; 7 June 1927(?)	Bedford Avenue, Brooklyn, NYC	USA	2300 saplings, plates with names, unit, where and how he died	
WWI	early 1920s	York Daily Record, 31 May 1993	The Susquehanna Trail, Jacobus to the Maryland Line, York	USA	hundreds of sycamores planted with rosemary bushes	Factiva
WWI	22-Apr-24	The Times	Folkestone	UK		
WWI	8-Nov-24	The Times	Crewkerne	UK	132 trees	
WWI	11-Nov-24	The Times	Griante, behind Cadenabbia, Italy	Italy	Cypress Trees	
WWI	1924	Cockerell, 2004	Marine Parade, Lakes Entrance	Vic	callitris cupressiformis	
WWI	Dedicated 21/06/1925	*/; UKNIWM (ref33022)	St Michael and All Angels, Walford	UK	24 limes (Dedictory wooden board with painted inscription in white lettering at one end)	www.wyeno1.com/walford01.htm
WWI	November 1925	UKNIWM (ref 22065)	Horsforth, West Yorkshire	UK	(In 1934 the children of local school planted daffodils around each tree, the cost of which was paid for by the families of the deceased)	

WWI	13-Feb-26	The Times	Italy	Italy	
WWI	25/04/1926	Cockerell, 2004	Crane St, Cherry St, Ballina	NSW	68 trees planted: Cinnamomum camphora, Harpephyllum caffrum
WWI	Jun-26	Fulton, 1996; out on a Limb	main road betw Port Arthur & Fort William (Thunder Bay)	Ontario	laurel-leaf willows
WWI/WWII	1926	Cockerell, 2004; *	Mortlake	Vic	cypress trees - Cockerell, 2004 ATV says 196 trees http://www.geocities.com/mortlakevic/attractions.htm
WWI	1-Nov-27	The Times Opened Australian Heritage	Cleveland, Ohio, USA	USA	
WWI	18/12/1927	Database, Place details *	Creswick	Vic	www.aussieheritage.com.au/listings/vic/Creswick/CreswickAvenueofHonor/15502
WWI	1927	Cockerell, 2004	Whittlesea	Vic	286 trees
WWI/II	21-May-28	UKNIWM (ref 47921)	Roseville Gardens, Coseley, West Midlands		single dedicatory stone, no named plaques
WWI	1928	Lanken 1997; Fulton, 1996; Out on a Limb	Memorial Drive, North Bay	Ontario	elms
WWI	1928		Former School of Artillery, North Head, Sydney	NSW	Norfolk Island Pines http://www.harbourtrust.gov.au/topics/sitesnorthhead.html
WWI	31/12/1929	UKNIWM (ref 29224)	Earlsheaton, West Yorkshire	UK	
WWI	1920s *		Tambo	Vic	6 flowering gums http://www.dva.gov.au/media/publicat/memories/tambo.htm
WWI	1920s *		Hampden State Primary School, Hampden	Qld	11 brass plates http://www.mackayhistory.org/research/war_memorials/hampden_avenue.html
WWI	1920s *		Hall	ACT	17 trees: Radiata Pine, 5x White Poplar, 2x English Elm, 2x Aleppo Pine, Pin Oak, 2x Roman Cypress, English Oak, Canary Island Pine, Lombardy poplar, one missing http://www.bbc.co.uk/dna/h2g2/A247006 ; http://www.skp.com.au/memorials/pages/00029.htm

WWI/II	1920s	Cockerell, 2004, AI	Alexandra St, Berry	NSW	36 trees: lophostemon confertus, Eucalyptus mannifera
WWI	1920s?	email (26/5/2006)	Higgins St, Otane, Cambridge	NZ	
WWI	1920s	Cockerell, 2004	Orford	Vic	Pinus sp
WWI	1920s	Cockerell, 2004	Northern Highway, Wallan Wallan	Vic	48 trees planted, elms
WWI	1920s	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Cudgewa	Vic	
WWI	1920s?	pers. comm.	Hamilton Memorial Park	NZ	no longer there
WWI/WWI	1920s?	Winnipeg Free Press, 6/04/1995; The Times, 6 April 1995; UKNIWM (ref 21107)			Maples and Sycamores (replaced in 1995 see entry)
WWI		The Times, 29/03/1930	Bramshott, Hampshire	UK	200 mem trees
WWI		The Waitakian: Volume XIII No. 2 November 1918; Vol 1931 XXVI, No 2, Dec 1931	Entrance to Waitaki Boys Hig School, Oamaru	NZ	
WWI	1933	The Times, 7/06/1933	Colchester-by-pass	UK	
WWI	July 1934	UKNIWM (ref 42869)	Lynn Grammar School, Cheshire	UK	11 lime trees
WWI	25/08/1934	Cockerell, 2004	Memorial Park, Palmerston St, Mosman Park	WA	Aracaria heterophylla (Norfolk Island pine)
WWI	8/09/1934	The Mercury 10/9/1934 *	Launceston Church Grammar School	Tas	Seedlings from Gallipoli - Lone Pine & Quinn's Post; 39 trees for dead soldiers, 51 for those who served www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWI	1935	Cockerell, 2004	Great Western	Vic	
WWI	Jul-37	UKNIWM (ref 36677)	Ammanford, Dyfed Wales	UK	gates, post stones, marble tablets and trees
WWI	1930s *		Roylestone	W.A.	88 cypress pines http://www.warrememorials.net/memorials/perth/y.a./y.a.l.htm
WWI	1930s	Cockerell, 2004	Taylor St, Wunghnu	Vic	Eucalyptus cladocalyx

WWI	1940	Cockerell, 2004	Midland Highway. Brighton	Tas	Cupressus arizonica, Pinus sp
WWII	Oct-43 *		Peterborough	Qld	Grove of Kurrajong trees www.skp.com.au
WWI	1943	The Argus, 26 April 1943	Black Rock, Sandringham(?)	Vic	over 50 wattles
WWII	1945	UKNIWM (ref 1500)	St Gregory & St Martin Church, Wye, Kent	UK	10 cherry trees
WWII	1945-49	Dargavel, 2000; Cockerell, 2004; *	Goulburn Valley Highway, south of Shepparton	Vic	2457 eucalyptus species www.heritage.vic.gov.au/page_233.asp?ID=233&keyDataContent=110
WWI	30-Aug-46	The Mercury 3/9/1946	South Channel Area School site, Woodbridge	Tas	16 trees planted this year, further plantings www.soldierswalk.org.au
WWII	1946-1947		Papanui, Chch	NZ	
WWII	1947	The Argus, 7 Oct 1947	Fairfield and Alphington School children	Vic	7 miles
WWII	1947	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Footscray	Vic	Eucalyptus sp
WWII	1947	UKNIWM (ref 2147)	St Peter's Church, Delamere, Cheshire	UK	
WWII	25-Apr-48	Cockerell, 2004; *	Eungella Rd, Pleystowe	Qld	8 trees planted, Ficus benjamina http://www.mackayhistory.org/research/war_memorials/pleystowe_avenue.html
WWII	2/09/1948	The Press, 3/9/1948	entrance to the Disabled Servicemen's League, Riccarton	NZ	Fir trees
WWII	5/12/1948 trees dedicated *		Kings Park, Perth	WA	300 sugar gums www.kpbg.wa.gov.au/kingspark/honour_avenue.html
WWII/II	11/09/1949	Cockerell, 2004	outside golf course, Tennyson	QLD	
WWII	Spring 1949	South of the Burn. The Southburn Story 1892-1992. John Button	Southburn, South Canterbury	NZ	five apple, eleven cherry, four peach and six prune trees
WWII	1949	* / Cockerell, 2004	Dimboola Memorial Secondary College, Dimboola	Vic	http://www.skp.com.au/memorials/pages/30431.htm

WWII	1940s	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Drouin	Vic	Cockerell, 2004 - 74 trees; Mgt Plan - 200 trees planted, Eucalyptus ficifolia
WWII	1940s?	pers. comm. (26/5/2007)	Higgins St, Otane, Cambridge	NZ	
WWII	1940s/50s	*	Gladstone Wairarapa	NZ	36 scarlet oaks www.nzhistory.net.nz/war/memorial-Gladstone
WWII	1940s/50s	Maclean & Phillips, 1990:151	Levin	NZ	
WWII	5-Feb-54	*	Remembrance Driveway	NSW, ACT	www.remembrancedriveway.org.au/dethist.htm
WWII	8/12/1957	Cockerell, 2004/* (19/7/07 site no longer available)	Memorial Ave, Gunnedah	NSW	http://www.about-australia.com/travel-guides/new-south-wales/new-england-north-west/attractions/building-structure/eighth-division-memorial-avenue/
WWI	24 August 1958, 44th ann of the battle of Mons	UKNIWM (ref 50368)	All Saints Garrison Church, Aldershot, Hampshire	UK	
WW/II	26/05/1962	*	Lauceston War Memorial Hall	Tas	www.skp.com.au
WW/II	1973	Cockerell, 2004; Richards, 2003	Mingenew Sports Ground, Mingenew	WA	
military memorial	1984?	Atlanta Journal and Constitution, 20 Aug 1996	Lejeune Boulevard, Jacksonville, North Carolina	USA	273 trees, 74 wiped out by Hurricane Bertha 12 July 1996 Factiva
20th century military actions	1989	Maclean & Phillips, 1990:158	Tauranga	NZ	120 trees: pohutakawa, puriri, Karaka
	10/08/1990	Cockerell, 2004	HMAS, Henley Beach South	SA	
WWI	25/04/1991	Cockerell, 2004	Slessor St, Chinchilla	QLD	Jacaranda mimosaefolia
Vietnam	11/11/1991	Cockerell, 2004; Dargavel, 2000	Wodonga	Vic	44 trees planted Quercus palustris
	1991	Cockerell, 2004	Gilmore St, Yarrowonga	Vic	Eucalyptus citriodora
	25/04/1992	Cockerell, 2004	Off Regency Rd, Regency Park	SA	Corymbia maculata

WWII/ Women's RAAF 1951- 77	17/10/1993	TreeNet; Cockerell, 2004; * Margaret St, Burstow St, Toowoomba	QLD		http://www.abc.net.au/southqld/stories/s664484.htm
Vietnam	1994	Cockerell, 2004 Albury	Vic	Platanus sp	
		Winnipeg Free Press, 6/04/1995; The Times, 6 April 1995; UKNIWM (ref 40272)		410 maple trees - maples for WWI, sycamores for WWII	
WWII	Replanted	A3, Liphook, Hampshire	UK	WWII	
All	15/04/1995	Cockerell, 2004 Bolara St, Wallaroo St, Dunedoo	NSW		
WWII	Jun-95	Cockerell, 2004 Yellagonga, Regional Park, Castlegate Rd, Woodvale	WA		
WWII	15/08/1995	Cockerell, 2004 Taylor St, Cecil Plains	QLD	10 trees planted?	
WWII	1995	Cockerell, 2004 Byrne St, Donald	Vic	18 trees planted	
WWII	26/01/1996 *	Gympie	Qld	134 trees	www.abc.net.au/southqld/stories/s662771.htm
Vietnam War	1996 *	Settlers Park, Bowral	NSW	Prunus 'Tai Haku'	www.vvaa.org.au/local07.htm
Nurses	2-May-99	Point Walter, Melville	W.A.	21 trees in a grove	http://www.warmemorials.net/memorials/perth/pt.walter/nurses.htm
WWII Nhrn Ireland, 20th C minor wars	May 1999	Leeds Grammar School, Leeds, West Yorkshire	UK	Avenue of limes with dedictory tablet inside the school	
	1990s	Cockerell, 2004 Church St, Walnut St, Whittlesea	Vic	platanus & Greveilla robusta	
50th ann of the start of the Korean War	28/06/2000	The Scotsman West Lothian Park	UK	110 korean trees, 1090 Scottish birches	
All	11/11/2000	Cockerell, 2004 Pindarri Ave, Berkeley Vale	NSW		
WWII and after	2000	Cockerell, 2004 Short St, Pittsworth	QLD		http://abc.net.au/southqld/features/warmemorial.htm
WWII	1920s & late 40s/early 50s	Leicester Mercury, 21/1/2001 Breedon	UK	Poplars	

WWII	1/11/2001	Leicester Mercury, 21/11/2001	Breedon	UK	15 spine lime trees	
WWI	25/06/2003	Cockerell, 2004	High St Reserve, Thomastown	Vic	21 trees planted	
Vietnam War	7/11/2004		Tongala	Vic	24 red ironbark saplings	http://www.sg.gov.au/speeches/textonly/speeches/2004/041107.html
all war s	14/08/2005		Deakin Avenue, Mildura	Aust		http://www.mildura.vic.gov.au/Page/page.asp?page_id=1243&h=0
WWII		photo	Devonport, Auckland	NZ	pohutakawa and Norfolk Island Pines	http://www.domain.com.au/Public/PropertyDetails.aspx?adid=2006048992
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Addington	Vic		
			Anzac Highway, Adelaide	SA	Fraxinus oxycarpa	
WWII		Cockerell, 2004	Sir Donald Bradman	SA	227 trees remaining	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Dr, Adelaide	SA	Platanus sp, Celtis sp	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Amphitheatre	Vic		
			Anglesea	Vic	72 trees planted	
					89 trees remaining, Cupresses sempervirens	
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Araluen Botanic Park	WA		
		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Arthur's Creek	Vic		
		Cockerell, 2004	Back Valley	SA		
		Cockerell, 2004	Barnesdale	Vic		
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Ballangeich	Vic	30 trees planted	
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Sebastapol, Ballarat	Vic	279 trees planted	
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Hill St, Ballarat	Vic	14 trees planted	
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Black Hill, Ballarat	Vic		
			Beaufort Cres,			
WWI		Cockerell, 2004	Ballarat	Vic	49 trees planted	
		Cockerell, 2004	Beaufort	Vic		
			Anzac Ave,			
		Cockerell, 2004	Beerburum	QLD		
WWI			Outside Bendigo	Vic		http://www.nsnews.com/issues98/w111698/11119804.html
WWI/II		Cockerell, 2004	Finch St, Bingara	NSW	Citrus sp	
WWII		Cockerell, 2004; Richards 2003				
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Boyanup	WA		
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Bullarock	Vic		
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Bundalagwah	Vic		
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Bunningyong	Vic		

WWI/II	Haddow, 1988b; Mgt Plan 1997; Cockerell, 2004	Campbelltown	Vic	Red Flowering Guns
	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Campbell's Creek		Eucalyptus ficifolia
WWI	Cockerell, 2004.*	Caloundra	QLD	http://www.qldmemorials.com/Memorials/Caloundra.htm
WWII	Cockerell, 2004	Canungra	QLD	
WWII	Cockerell, 2004; *	Music Street, Carmila	QLD	http://www.mackayhistory.org/research/war_memorials/carmila_plaques.htm
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	North Rd, Caulfield	Vic	www.skp.com.au
WWI	UKNIW (ref 51392)	Parkland High School, Chorley, Lancashire	UK	16 lime trees
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Carinish Rd, Clayton	Vic	Quercus lusitanica
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Coleraine	Vic	47 trees - Monterey Cypress & Monterey Pine
WWII	Cockerell, 2004	Coolangatta	QLD	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Corindhap	Vic	Cockerell, 2004 - pinus sp; Mgt Plan - 48 Monterey Cypress & Monterey Pines
WWI	*	Cornwall	Tas	24 trees with plaques
WWI/WWII	Spencer, 1986; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Daylesford	Vic	http://minister.dva.gov.au/media_releases/2006/worddocs/VA145.doc Sycamores and Spanish Chestnuts
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Dean	Vic	
	Cockerell, 2004	near township of Derrinallum	Vic	
		Doncaster East	Vic	www.skp.com.au
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Drik Drik-Nelson Rd, Drik Drik	Vic	17 trees planted, Ficu marcapophylla
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Drummond	Vic	50 trees, Gums
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Dunolly	Vic	
	Cockerell, 2004	Eganstown	Vic	
Korea, Vietnam	Cockerell, 2004	Llyod St, Enoggera	QLD	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Eurack		
	Inglis 1998:385	Fairfield, Sydney	NSW	
	Cockerell, 2004	Fern Creek	Vic	

WWII		Cockerell, 2004	Great Nth Rd, Lyons Rd, Five Dock	NSW	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Gellibrand	Vic	
			Gembrook	Vic	http://www.gembrook.com.au/index.htm
WWII		Cockerell, 2004	May St, Gin Gin	QLD	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Glenlyon	Vic	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Glenpatrick	Vic	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Grasmere	Vic	48 trees planted
WWI		Haddow, 1988b: Ballarat Mgt Pan, 1997	Grantville	Vic	Red Flowering Gums 60+ trees, Norfolk Island Pines
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Hampton	Vic	
WWI		Ballarat Mgt plan, 1997	Happy Valley	Vic	
		Cockerell, 2004	High St, Harcourt	Vic	Cedrus sp
		Cockerell, 2004	Hexham	Vic	
Korea, Vietnam		Cockerell, 2004	Port Rd, Hindmarsh	SA	
WWII			Holroyd	NSW	Brush Box trees, 44 plaques
WWI		Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Hopetoun	Vic	70 trees
WWI/II		Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	McPherson & McBride Sts, Horsham	Vic	
		Cockerell, 2004	Inverleigh	Vic	Cupressus sp
			Evanslea Rd, Jondaryan	QLD	
WWII		Cockerell, 2004; Richards, 2003	Stirk Park, Kalamunda	WA	20 trees planted
		Cockerell, 2004	Kallangur	QLD	
WWII		Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Kaniva	Vic	27 trees, eucalyptus cladocalyx
WWII		Cockerell, 2004	Main Rd, Kapunda	SA	Koelreuteria paniculata
		Cockerell, 2004	Coopers Lookout, Kawana	QLD	
		Haddow, 1988b	Kotumna	Vic	

WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Walker Road, Lara	Vic	Plan says 2 aves one of Gums, other of cypress; website cypress trees	http://www.geelongaustralia.com.au/library/pdf/5132/36.pdf
WWII	UKNIWM (ref 19510)	Victoria Park, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire	UK		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Lilydale	Vic		
ARA Signal Corps	Cockerell, 2004	Simpson Ave, Stevens Rd, Blamey Rd, MacLeod	Vic		
	Cockerell, 2004	Maldon	Vic		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Malvern	Vic	185 trees planted - Brachychiton sp	
	Cockerell, 2004	Manly	NSW		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; *	Marian/Mirani	QLD		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Marong	Vic	Canary Island Palm	
	Cockerell, 2004	Kitchner Ave, Maroondah	Vic	Planatus orientalis	
WWI/II	*	Point Walter, Bicton, Melville	WA	25 trees, lemon scented gums and sugar gums	www.anzac.dpc.wa.gov.au/index.cfm?event=memorialItem&mem+189
	Cockerell, 2004; Dargavel, 2000; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997				
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Metung	Vic	6 trees	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Millgrove	Vic		
WWII, Vietnam	Cockerell, 2004	Memorial Ave, Monto	QLD		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Montpark	Vic		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Moonable	Vic		
	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997				
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Moonee Ponds	Vic	Cupressus sp	
WWII	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Moonee Ponds	Vic	58 trees	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Moniac	Vic		
	Cockerell, 2004	High St, Mount Waverley	Vic	28 trees planted - Quercus lusitanica	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Murndall	Vic	8 trees	
WWII	Cockerell, 2004	Natte Yallock	Vic	7 trees remaining	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Newlyn	Vic		
	Cockerell, 2004	Pyrenees Highway, Newstead	Vic	70 elms planted - Ulmus hollandica	

	Cockerell, 2004	Lady Bay, Normanville	SA	Araucaria heterophylla	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Blackburn Rd, Notting Hill	Vic	Platanus sp	
	Cockerell, 2004	Nurioopta	SA	Ceratonia siliqua	
WWI		Nyabing	Aust	16 names on plaque	http://www.warmemorials.net/memorials/wheatbelt/nyabing/nyabing.htm
WWI		Oakleigh	Vic		www.skp.com.au
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	O'Connell Rd, O'Connell	NSW		
WWII	Cockerell, 2004	B Rd Jarrahmond, Orbost	Vic	Quercus sp	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Oxford	Vic		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Packenhams Upper	Vic		
	Cockerell, 2004	Esplanade, Paynesville	Vic		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Piggoreet	Vic		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Yandalla St, Pittsworth	QLD		
	Cockerell, 2004	Bridgeman Oval, Pittsworth	QLD		
	Cockerell, 2004	Pt Elliot	SA		
WWI/II	Cockerell, 2004	Honour Ave, Point Walter	WA	thought 25 trees planted, lemon scented gums & sugar gums	
WWII	Dargavel, 1999	Princes Highway betw Sale & Straford	Vic	Pinus radiata	
WWII	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Puckapunyl	Vic	Eucalyptus botryoides (mahogany gums)	
WWII	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Pyramid Hill	Vic	20 trees, Eucalyptus cladocalyx (sugar gum)	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Flinders St, Queenscliff	Vic	Cupressus macrocarpa	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Rappville	NSW	Cinnamomum camphora	
	Cockerell, 2004	Rockhampton	QLD		

WWII	Cockerell, 2004	Memorial Drive, Rockingham	WA	Callistemon sp	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Ross Creek	Vic		
WWI	Spencer, 1986	Royal Parade next to Primitive Methodist cemetery, Salisbury	Vic	Elms	
	Cockerell, 2004		SA		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Sassafras	Vic	Acacias from the Middle East	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Skipton	Vic	169 treesd, elms - Scotch, English	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Snake Valley	Vic		
WWI	pers.comm	Sefton, North Canterbury	NZ		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Southport	QLD		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Stockyard Hill	Vic		
WWI/II	Cockerell, 2004	Brothwick St, Stone Hut	SA	9 trees planted	
	Cockerell, 2004	St Agnes Shopping Centre, Tea Tree Gully	SA		
WWI	Spencer, 1986	Terang		avenue of poplars and oaks	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	High St, Thomastown	Vic	21 trees planted; Oriental Planes	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Toora	Vic		
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Kay St, Tragalong	Vic	30 trees planted, elms	
	Cockerell, 2004	Frankston Hastings Rd, Tyabb	Vic	Pinus sp	
	Cockerell, 2004	Trentham/Daylesford Rd, Tylden	Vic	Elms	
WWI	Cockerell, 2004	Franklin Parade, Victor Harbour	SA		
WWI	Spencer, 1986	Wandin North	Vic	21 Red flowering gums	
WWII	Cockerell, 2004	Warburton Highway, Wangarratta	Vic	30 trees planted, eucalyptus ficifolia	
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Waterloo	Vic		
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Welshpool	Vic		

WWI	UKNIWM (ref 5598)	Westleton, Suffolk	UK	18 lime trees surrounding a pond
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Whitfield	Vic	
WWI/WWII/ Korea/ Vietnam	Cockerell, 2004; Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Tylden Rd, Woodend	Vic	WWI 224 trees planted, English Oak
WWI	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Wommelang	Vic	
	Cockerell, 2004	Woorloo	WA	
	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Yarrahmond	Vic	
	Ballarat Mgt Plan, 1997	Yan Yean	Vic	
		Chailey's Heritage Craft School & Hosptial, Chailey, Sussex	uk	
WWI				

Roads of Remembrance

NYT 24 Oct 1920

Mercer County, NJ

Tampa, Florida 15 mile stretch of
West Coast Road

NYT 2 Jan 1921 to be planted

Volusia County, the Pershing
Triangle will be planted

Lincoln Highway: sections: York,
Pa; Indiana;

Chattanooga, Tenn,

Middleton, Ohio, along Dixie

Washington, Ind

new roads in Michigan

National Defense Highway betw
Bladensburg & Annapolis

Chicago to Saginaw - to be called
the Victoria Highway

State of Indiana - grove for every
county